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1872/73

ANNUAL REPORT
AND
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
PLYMOUTH INSTITUTION
AND
Devon and Cornwall
NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

VOLUME IV. PART IV.

1872-3.

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PLYMOUTH:
W. BRENDON AND SON, 26, GEORGE STREET.
1873.

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ANNUAL REPORTS

AND

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

PLYMOUTH INSTITUTION

AND

Devon and Cornwall

NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

VOL. IV.

(1869 TO 1873.)

PLYMOUTH:
WILLIAM BRENDON & SON, GEORGE STREET.
1873.



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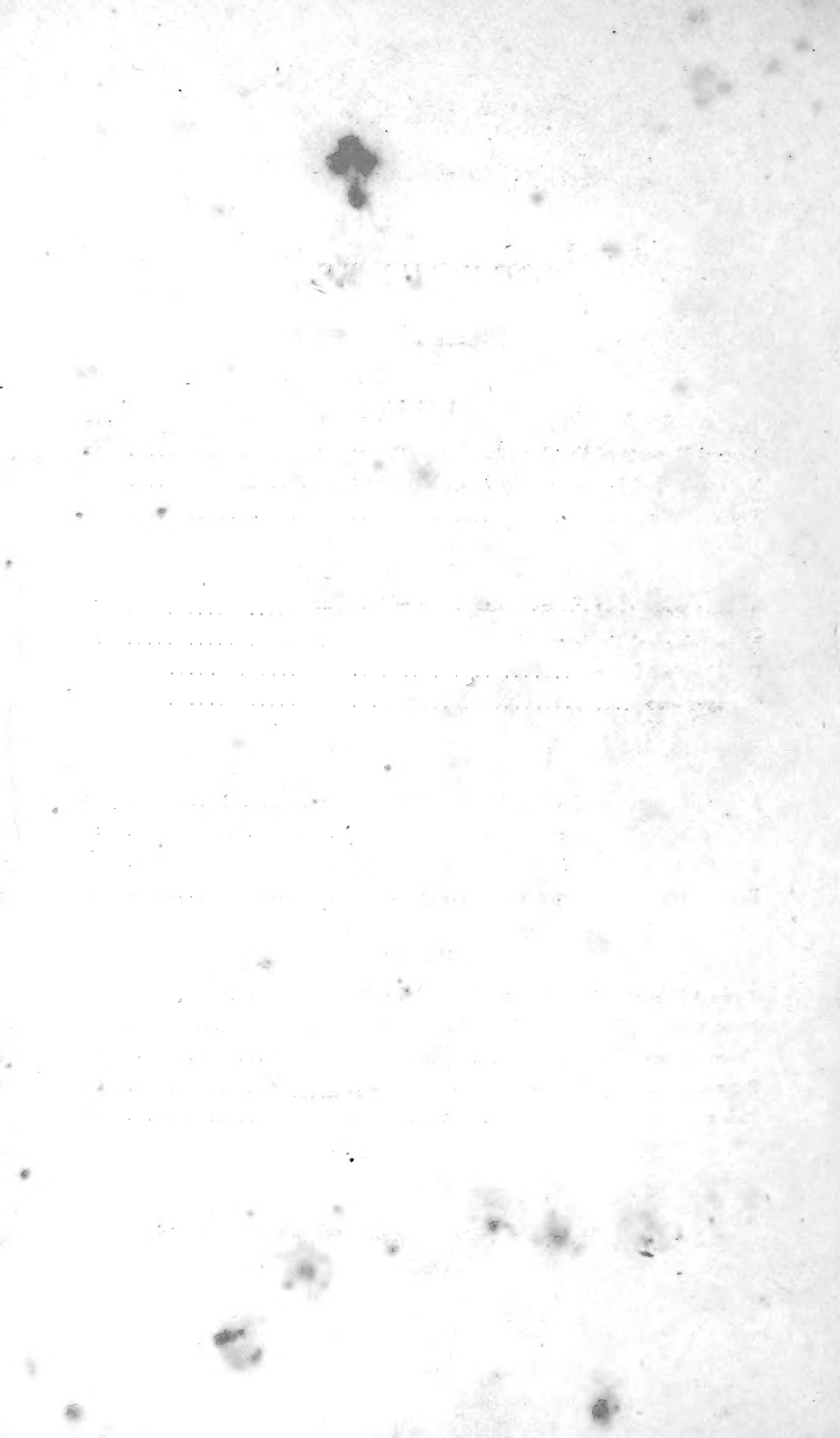
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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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1869-73.

PLYMOUTH:
W. BRENDON AND SON, 26, GEORGE STREET.
1873.

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ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
PLYMOUTH INSTITUTION
AND
Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society.

1872-73.



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Winnicott, R. W., Frankfort-street



SECRETARIES' REPORT,

1872-73.

THE Secretaries present to the Society the following Report of the proceedings of the Session.

The papers read were—

Oct. 10.	Inaugural Address (on Universal Language)	THE PRESIDENT.
„ 17.	Early Electro Therapeutics	MR. J. N. HEARDER, PH.D., F.C.S.
„ 24.	On Punishments in Education	MR. W. F. COLLIER.
„ 31.	A Difficulty for Darwinists	MR. F. H. BALKWILL.
Nov. 7.	Old Plymouth—its Ecclesiastical History	MR. J. B. ROWE.
„ 14.	Illustrations of Method	MR. W. H. PEARSE, M.D.
„ 21.	Phases of History	MR. R. N. WORTH.
„ 28.	Marco Polo	MR. W. BEER.
Dec. 5.	Way-marks of Civilization	REV. T. W. FRECKELTON.
„ 12.	On Darwin's Theory of the Selection of Species	REV. C. CROFT.
Jan. 16.	The "Mystery" of "The Passion" in Cornwall and at Ammergau	REV. JOHN BANNISTER, LL.D.
„ 23.	The Physical Position of the Mind	MR. W. SQUARE, JUNR., M.R.C.S.
„ 30.	Sanitary Legislation	MR. A. ROOKE.
Feb. 6.	The Botany of Plymouth in connection with its natural features and climate	MR. T. R. A. BRIGGS, F.L.S.
„ 13.	Tenant-Right	MR. H. CLARK.
„ 20.	Education at Home and at School	REV. J. M. HODGE, B.A.
„ 27.	Fog	MR. W. GAGE TWEEDY, B.A.
Mar. 6.	Comparative Etymology	MR. E. S. JACKSON, M.A., F.G.S.
„ 13.	Germ Theory	MR. GEO. JACKSON, M.R.C.S.
„ 20.	Notes on Moorland Churches in Devonshire	MR. J. HINE, F.R.I.B.A.
„ 27.	Taxation	MR. R. COLLIER.

Abstracts of all but two of these will be found in the Transactions. The two exceptions are of local interest, and have been printed in full; viz.—“The Ecclesiastical History of Old Plymouth,” by Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, and “Notes on Moorland Churches,” by Mr. James Hine.

The average attendance has been sixty.

Three members and five associates have joined the Society during the past year, the numbers at present being fifty-seven members and fifty-eight associates. Two gentlemen, Dr. R. F. WEYMOUTH, and Mr. R. N. WORTH, have been elected honorary members.

We regret to have to record the death of one of our honorary members, Sir John Bowring, LL.D., F.R.S., &c.

At the anniversary meeting on the first of May the following papers were read—

On the Expectancies of Hygienic Measures W. H. PEARSE, M.D.

On the Selection of Books to form a Free
Library J. SHELLY.

On the Phenomenon observed on Dartmoor,
called the “Ammell” J. N. BENNETT.

The Annual Conversazione was held at Christmas.

In the autumn the Social Science Congress held its meeting in Plymouth and Devonport. The Council placed the Hall at the disposal of the Committee of one of the sections. It was a very successful meeting, and many of the papers read and discussions which followed were well calculated to promote the objects in which different members of our Society take an interest.

The Curator of Antiquities reports that the following interesting objects have been found, and will be added to the collection in the Museum—

Burnt human bones, a bronze dagger, and an amber pommel inlaid with gold, from an earthen barrow on Hammel Down. A stone implement, and portions of an urn of coarse ware, from a cairn on Penmoor.

The above were exhumed by Mr. C. Spence Bate, and will be found fully described and illustrated in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association, vol. v. page 549.

Two flint spear-heads. These were found in a ditch at Hemerdon Ball, Plympton St. Mary, and were obtained by Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, by whom they are presented to the Museum.

The Librarian reports that during the past year many volumes have been added to those previously on the shelves, including the following "Transactions" of scientific or learned societies, gratuitously presented or received in exchange for own "Reports"—

British Association Report, 1871.

Parts of Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London, and Index, 1861-70.

Catalogue of the Works in the Library of the Zoological Society.

List of the Animals in the gardens of the Zoological Society.

Transactions of the Natural History Society of Northumberland and Durham, part 2, vol. iv.

Parts of the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London.

Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club, No. 3, vol. vi.

Parts of Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.

Report of the Winchester and Hampshire Scientific and Literary Society, 1870-71.

Devonshire Association Transactions, vol. v. part 1.

Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, No. 13.

Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Royal Polytechnic Society.

Parts of the Journal of the Royal Dublin Society.

Smithsonian Institution Report, 1870.

Report on the Geology of Ohio, with maps.

Reports of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, Nos. 6, 8, and 9.

The Society is indebted to their corresponding member, Mr. E. H. Rodd, for "Notes on the Ornithology of Cornwall;" to Dr. Stratton, of Stoke, for a copy of his work "On the Affinity of the Hebrew Language and the Celtic;" to Mr. E. Congdon, of Marazion, for two curious Oriental works; and to Dr. Merrifield for

elaborate printed "Meteorological Returns," received by him from the London office. The Librarian has given the current numbers of the "Journal of Botany." There have been purchased many volumes of the "Quarterly Journal" of the Geological Society of London, rendering the set on the shelves nearly complete:—Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements;" Stevens's "Flint Chips;" Symonds's "Records of the Rocks;" Borlase's "Nænia Cornubiæ;" Maclean's "History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor," vol. i. (all yet published); Allman's "Monograph of the Gymnoblasic or Tubularian Hydroids," part 2 (Ray Society); Darwin's "Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals;" Bentham's "Illustrated Handbook of the British Flora," 2 vols.; Bastian's "Beginnings of Life," 2 vols.; Wallis's "Cornwall Register;" Newton's edition of "Yarrell's British Birds" (so far as yet issued); and Jewitt's "History of Plymouth."

(Signed)

W. ADAMS,	}	HON. SECS.
F. H. BALKWILL,		

April 3rd, 1873.

TREASURERS' REPORT,

1872-73.

WE present herewith the usual Balance Sheet. Nothing appears to call for particular remark, except that the amount received for Subscriptions is less than in previous years.

(Signed)

J. BROOKING ROWE, }
ALBERT P. PROWSE, }_{TREASURERS.}

Athenæum, 2nd April, 1873.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENDITURE AND INCOME

OF

The Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society,

For the Year ending 31st March, 1873.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Printing	.	.	6	By Annual Subscriptions	.	.	113 18 6
Library	.	.	2	Rent of Hall	.	.	20 10 0
Salaries and Commission	.	.	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	Admissions	.	.	0 6 0
Lighting and Warming	.	.	8 6	Sale of old Book-case	.	.	1 10 3
Grant for Dartmoor Exploration	.	.	0 0	Amount transferred from Museum Account	.	.	14 12 0
Conversazione	.	.	17 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Error in payment Account, p. 115	.	.	0 2 0
Rates, Taxes, and Insurance	.	.	7 13 6				
Incidentals	.	.	4 16 0				
Balance last (1871-72) Account	.	.	0 9 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	Balance due to Treasurer	.	.	1 9 7 $\frac{3}{4}$
			<u>£152 8 4 $\frac{3}{4}$</u>				<u>£152 8 4 $\frac{3}{4}$</u>
Balance due to Treasurer brought down	.	.	1 9 7 $\frac{3}{4}$				

J. BROOKING ROWE, } *Treasurers.*
ALBERT P. PROWSE, }

April 3rd, 1873.

Examined and found correct,

SAML. CATER, *Auditor.*

An ABSTRACT from the METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER, from 1st January, 1872, to 31st December, 1872, kept at the Navigation School, Gascoyne Place, Plymouth (Lat. 50° 22½' N., Long. 4° 7¼' W.), by JOHN MERRIFIELD, PH.D., F.R.A.S.

MONTH.	BAROMETRICAL PRESSURE REDUCED TO MEAN SEA LEVEL AT 32° FAH.			TEMPERATURE.			HYGROMETER.				RAINFALL.		DIRECTION OF WIND AT 8 A.M.						
	Average Barometer for Month.	Maximum for Month.	Minimum for Month.	Maximum in shade.	Average Minimum.	Average temperature.	Average dry bulb.	Average wet bulb.	Average dew point.	Average humidity-Saturation, 100.	Number of days on which rain fell.	Quantity for the month in inches.	Fr m	From N. to E.	From E. to S.	From S. to W.	From W. to N.	Calm.	
1872.																			
January .	29-566	30-112	28-278	49-87	40-77	45-32	44-31	43-03	42-83	94	28	6-39	2	4	21	4	0		
February .	29-755	30-168	29-445	51-97	43-68	47-82	46-78	46-02	45-16	94	23	5-89	1	12	11	3	2		
March .	29-797	30-322	29-280	52-24	41-87	47-06	45-60	44-65	43-56	93	15	3-51	4	8	12	4	3		
April .	29-930	30-495	28-991	55-73	41-93	48-83	47-55	45-95	44-17	88	10	1-67	10	6	7	6	1		
May .	29-963	30-424	29-467	58-94	44-52	51-73	51-47	49-08	46-70	84	13	98	4	3	15	7	2		
June .	29-935	30-304	29-374	65-08	52-00	58-54	57-78	55-65	53-73	86	16	3-74	0	9	15	6	0		
July .	29-932	30-293	29-738	71-16	57-13	64-15	62-82	60-58	58-68	86	13	2-42	3	11	8	7	2		
August .	29-982	30-315	29-486	69-24	55-81	62-53	61-00	58-94	57-15	87	9	1-40	7	6	10	6	2		
September .	29-863	30-315	29-411	63-37	52-87	58-12	56-20	55-73	55-29	96	19	2-99	0	5	14	9	2		
October .	29-672	30-278	29-074	55-69	44-68	50-19	48-00	47-73	47-43	98	24	5-34	4	2	13	8	4		
November .	29-689	30-348	28-600	51-98	43-87	47-92	46-82	46-18	45-46	95	25	5-14	2	3	16	5	4		
December .	29-522	29-999	28-844	50-16	41-22	45-69	42-61	41-57	40-31	92	24	5-59	4	10	10	4	3		
Average for 1872	29-800	30-281	29-164	57-95	46-70	52-33	50-91	49-64	48-37	91	219	45-06	41	79	152	69	25		
Average for 8 Years . .	29-936	30-386	29-318	59-43	45-00	52-22	51-84	49-53	47-17	84-2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		

The observations are all made at Eight a.m. The Rain Gauge is by Casella, and eight inches in diameter. Its top is 9 feet 2 inches above the ground, and 75 feet above the mean level of the sea. A rainy day is one in which not less than one-hundredth part of an inch falls. The Instruments have all been supplied by the Meteorological Committee of the Royal Society, compared at Kew, and the index error supplied to each.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION 1872-3.

AFTER stating the general nature and aims of the Plymouth Institution, the President read a short paper on the subject of a Universal Language, as an introduction to the studies and discussions of the new session.

He commenced by remarking upon the relation of language to the progress of scientific investigation, its defects as an instrument of thought and expression, the barriers to international communication existing in the prevalence of different languages; and argued, on these several grounds, to the vast importance of having one universal tongue, claiming some justification for the notion from the general European use of Latin during the middle ages.

His principal ground of argument, however, was the relation which Art, instructed and inspired by Science, has borne through all ages of progress to the powers originally conferred by Nature. He shewed, particularly in the instance of locomotion, how immeasurably Nature has been surpassed by Art, and how great in consequence has been the extension of human knowledge and power. He contended that although language has developed itself spontaneously from the national and social constitution of man, yet, by the persistent application of science and art on the part of an association of learned men, an artificial medium of thought and expression might be formed as far superior to any language as yet known, as our mode of transition by steam-carriages is superior to our natural powers of walking.

He then proceeded to point out some of the special features by which the new language should be marked. These were—A more copious and precise expression of ideas and modes of action, a combination of the powers of speech now existing separately in different languages, the fullest use of sounds, and their careful adaptation to different objects, the use of only hard consonants in

the formative parts of language, in order to guard against irregularity and "phonetic decay," a construction on such a principle as would leave room for growth and expansion, and, lastly, facility of acquisition.

He anticipated the objection implied in the word Utopian, by observing that the most wonderful applications of science, which impart a peculiar glory to our own age, would certainly have been ridiculed as worse than Utopian only a few years ago; and concluded by saying that even as a mere speculation the subject was interesting, and furnished abundant materials for profitable discussion.

EARLY ELECTRO-THERAPEUTICS.

ABSTRACT OF DR. HEARDER'S PAPER.

(Read October 17th, 1872.)

THE lecturer did not consider that any apology was needed for introducing a subject with which he had so frequently on former occasions occupied the attention of the Society; for the branch of electricity which he had now to illustrate was, so far as the Society was concerned, comparatively new. The increasing importance which of late years had attached to it gave it a more than common interest.

Many years since he delivered a lecture to the Society on electro-biology, in which he did not, it might possibly be remembered, attempt to enunciate the rash, untenable, and mischievous statement that electricity is life; but he did, nevertheless, endeavour to prove that life and electricity were closely allied to each other, inasmuch as life gave rise to electrical actions which controlled and modified vital functions in organized tissues; and in which sense electricity was the connecting link between the immaterial and the material. He did not on that occasion, however, make any allusions to the pathological influence of electricity, which was to form the subject of the present lecture. Year after year electricity was showing to what extent it could be made available in almost every department of art and manufacture; and of later years we had begun to know more of its relation to our inner selves. He considered it to be a matter of regret that pathologists had for so long a time ignored the important part which it played in the animal economy,

and its value as a therapeutic agent; but he was glad to find that they were at last awakening from a supineness which they would find it difficult to excuse, and he hoped that henceforth electro-physiology would occupy a more important position in the curriculum of medical training. He could not but feel that an agent exerting so powerful a control over vital functions, as to alleviate suffering, restore vitality, and in many cases, humanly speaking, to prolong life, was worthy of a better fate than that to which it had been so long consigned by those who had thought it below the dignity of their profession to countenance.

There appeared, however, a better time coming; for the labours of Continental electro-pathologists of high repute had been translated into English, and had given an impulse to the study of the subject which bid fair to set electricity on its proper footing as a therapeutic agent. He was the more gratified at this, since he had been engaged for nearly half a century in employing electricity as a remedial agent, and during that period had seen many eminent and esteemed members of the medical profession pass away, fully admitting the therapeutic value of electricity; but having failed to use it either for want of suitable instruments, or a knowledge how to use them.

There was still a great amount of prejudice to overcome and supineness to awaken; for whilst one was ready to admit the growing value of electricity, another would suggest that "you might as well galvanize the leg of a chair as the nether limb of your rheumatic patient."

Unfortunately medical men were not all electricians, and not one in a hundred amongst electricians would be likely to know anything of anatomy or physiology. Their knowledge was all empirical; but the accumulation of facts was on their side; and it was not a very logical position to deny the *post hoc propter hoc*, because the connecting link between cause and effect could not be distinctly traced.

The earlier electricians soon began to notice certain physiological effects resulting from the action of electricity on the human body, and the discovery of the Leyden jar and electrical shock gave a great impetus to their researches.

Although the accounts of the effect of the shock were greatly exaggerated, yet all agreed that an agent which could produce such extraordinary effects would not fail to be of value in therapeutics, if

properly applied; and they accordingly set to work to see what they could make of it. It would be his object in the present paper to show to what extent they had succeeded.

The only form of electrical action with which they were acquainted was that in which it was developed by the friction of glass cylinders, or plates, against silk surfaces coated with an amalgam of mercury and zinc. A powerful cylinder machine of this kind was on the table, and the lecturer explained its various parts and showed its action by drawing long and brilliant sparks from its conductors.

This form of electrical development, he said, was designated by the terms frictional, Franklynic, and static, though there were other modes of exciting it by means of the voltaic battery, the electro-magnetic, sometimes called Faradaic, and magneto-electric machines; but he should confine himself that evening to the Franklynic.

This form exhibited itself in three different ways; viz., by the spark, the shock, and the aura. The physiological peculiarities of the spark were first explained, and some experimental illustrations were given of the mode of applying it. A patient was placed on an insulated stool, and sparks were drawn from all parts of his body by means of an interrupted director, invented by the lecturer for modifying the length of the sparks, and obtaining them through clothes which were damp, or composed of conducting materials, and to which he had given the name of spintherometer.

After detailing the cases for which the spark treatment was suitable, he passed on to describe the Leyden jar, and the various modes of administering the electric shock. He deprecated the use of the powerful shocks which were formerly administered, and stated that he had obtained the best results by reducing the size of the jar, until it became a mere coated tube of glass, which gave vibratory shocks precisely analogous to those experienced with the galvanic coil machine. These effects had been produced by him before Faraday had made his discovery of electro-magnetic reaction, or coil machines had been dreamt of.

He next passed on to review the physiological effects of the aura or electrical breeze from a point, which, he said, could not be obtained from any of the ordinary electrical apparatus now in use. He considered it a most important agent in cases of sub-acute inflammation, weak eyes, neuralgic affections, or obstinate ulcers.

The cause of its efficacy was not known, but its effects were indisputable.

Since Schœnbein's discovery of ozone, however, the lecturer had been led to refer its curative powers to this agent, since it is now known that electricity is one of the most fertile sources of its development in the atmosphere. After exhibiting some experiments to show the properties and action of ozone, and the mode of detecting its presence in the atmosphere, he alluded to the various effects experienced by sensitive constitutions during thunder weather, and concluded by showing how thunderstorms acted in purifying the atmosphere, removing malaria, and suppressing epidemics. He strongly recommended the employment of apparatus for developing ozone in the atmosphere of fever hospitals.

PUNISHMENTS IN EDUCATION.

ABSTRACT OF MR. W. F. COLLIER'S PAPER.

(Read October 24th, 1872.)

THE word Education means the training of the mind, and in order to train the mind a knowledge of the mind is necessary. Psychology, therefore, ought to be studied by all who undertake to teach.

Education can be divided into two principal divisions—the formation of character, and the acquisition of knowledge. Of what advantage can punishments be as an aid to education in either of these divisions?

Punishments treated in this paper only as corporeal punishments.

Children are very ill-used and made to work when too young; and too hardly. The reports of the Factory and Agricultural Commissioners on the employment of children reveal horrors equal to those described by the anti-slave-trade agitators.

The formation of character the most important branch of education. What effect have these punishments on character? They engender fear, deceit, want of sympathy, and cruelty. The object of punishments is to enforce obedience. Their ill-success in accomplishing that object. The influence of mind on mind. Mental force and physical force entirely distinct in their characteristics. The influence of the more powerful mind over the less powerful. Mental force induces willing submission. Physical

force provokes opposition, and is hateful to us. Civilization is the substitution of mental force for physical force in the government of mankind. Why should principles be applicable to children that are inapplicable and detestable in our own case? Is there all this great difference between children and adults?

The case of boys considered. Boys peculiarly the objects of these punishments. Domestic animals better protected by the law than boys are. The law will not allow a man to flog a horse as he may flog his boy. Flogging of boys in the navy, and by order of magistrates at Petty Sessions. The effect of flogging in the case of lying and thieving.

As an aid to the organization of knowledge, how can flogging improve the memory? Our faculties are improved by exercise. Flogging not an exercise of the memory. Memory the result of the association of ideas. If the memory is cultivated, and industry and attention acquired, the difficulties of education are overcome. Can these punishments be of any use to drive a child to its work as horses are driven? They are more likely to induce a distaste for work, and engender a spirit of defiance. Practically they are useless in making children industrious and attentive. They are the relics of a barbarous age, handed down to us from savage ancestors. The process of civilization has continually diminished their use, and will continue to diminish it, until they are shortly abandoned as useless and cruel. Why not take the final step at once, and abolish them in the case of our children as we have already abolished them in the case of our adult selves, and thus escape the reproach of barbarism from future generations?

A DIFFICULTY FOR DARWINISTS.

ABSTRACT OF MR. F. H. BALKWILL'S PAPER.

(Read October 31st, 1872.)

REASONS given for the interest excited by Mr. Darwin's theory of the Origin of Organic Species by natural selection in the struggle for existence. Tendency of the human mind to form a theory in advance of the facts known, but in the direction towards which they seem to tend: this tendency unsound and unscientific. A debt of gratitude due to Mr. Darwin for renewing the interest in studies of natural history. Difficulty stated. Animals are capable

of classification into a sort of genealogical tree; and yet some possess organs both homologically and analogically alike, that is, constructed in the same manner, in the same place in the body, and having the same functions, which cannot be hereditarily connected with each other. St. George Mivart's work on the "Genesis of Species" gives many examples of this. Improbability of similar complicated organisms being evolved separately on Mr. Darwin's hypothesis; as well might we expect two distinct and completely isolated nations to evolve the same language without any communication. Illustration taken from the affinities of the teeth between the Marsupial rodents and carnivora, and the Placental rodents and carnivora. Argument strengthened by reference to a quadrumanous rodent, the Aye-aye.

MARSUPIAL RODENTS

have two upper and lower incisors, with persistent pulps growing continually on the arc of a circle. The front, guarded by a thick plate of enamel, allows the softer ivory and bone substance of the body of the teeth to wear faster, and thus preserve a sharp edge.

HAVE NO CANINES.

Molars separated from incisors by a considerable interval.

MARSUPIAL CARNIVORA,
e.g., THYLACINUS.

Eight upper incisors and six lower ones, small and insignificant in function.

Two large canines above and below, of which the lower bites in front of the upper.

Six pre-molars above and below, formed like a spear-head, to aid in holding a prey.

Eight molars above and below, formed for cutting up flesh and breaking bones.

The dental apparatus of the Aye-aye, a quadrumanous animal similar to the rodent type.

Teeth a very high type of specialised organ; their evolution from bone in the sub-kingdom vertebrata traced. Conclusion.

PLACENTAL RODENTS.

With the exception of the hare and rabbit, which have four upper incisors, the same description exactly applies to this order as to the Marsupial rodent.

HAVE NO CANINES.

The same.

PLACENTAL CARNIVORA,
DOG.

Six upper and six lower incisors, small and insignificant in function.

The same.

Eight pre-molars above and below, formed like a spear-head, to aid in holding a prey, the last pre-molar formed for cutting flesh, or breaking bones.

Four molars above and six below, the first pair of lower ones being formed for cutting flesh and breaking bones, all the rest for grinding.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF OLD PLYMOUTH.

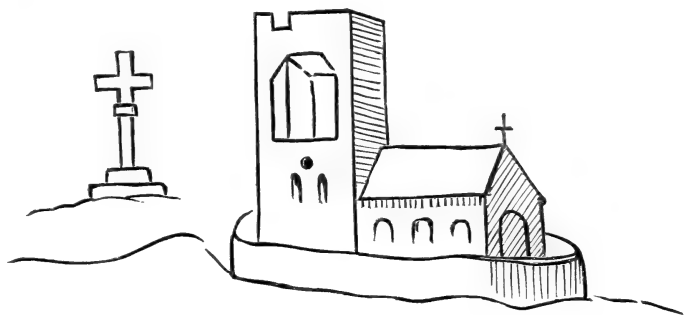
BY J. BROOKING ROWE, F.L.S.

(Read November 7th, 1872.)

NORE.—When the following Paper was written, I had no idea that it would have been thought worthy of publication. It is printed almost as it was read, a few alterations and additions only having been made. I hope to be able to deal more fully with the subject in my proposed "History of the Deanery of Plympton," having obtained much interesting material since the delivery of the lecture. I am indebted to Mr. J. HINE for the drawings from which the woodcuts were made.

I MUST begin with an apology. I fear very much that, to those who have taken any interest in the history of our native town, I shall have nothing new to communicate. The scanty materials available will compel me to travel over much old ground, and to make my paper more popular than some of those that our members are accustomed to hear.

Although there have been many contributions towards the history of Plymouth, I believe none have dealt exclusively with the subject I have selected; and although I can only hope to gather up matter already available to those who search, yet I am convinced that there is much more information still to be obtained with regard to this, as well as to other matters connected with local history generally. In fact, I believe that, as is the case with general history, the sources of information as to local history are to some extent only now being opened to us. Before the history of a town or county can now be written, it will be necessary to look into, not only such archives as may be preserved in the neighbourhood itself, and to collect such information as may be there obtained, but to go much further afield, and to consult the documents preserved in the various record-offices of the metropolis, now so accessible, to ascertain what public men have been connected with the locality, and whether any correspondence, or papers of any kind belonging to them, have been handed down and can be examined. As far as



*THE FAIR CHAPEL OF ST. CATHERINE AND THE CROSS
UPON THE HOE.*



THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW

counties are concerned, it is now impossible for one man to attempt to write the history even of a single one. The work is too great for any person to hope that, even if he lived to complete his task, it would be accomplished in anything like a satisfactory manner. And it is for this reason that we must all hail with satisfaction the publication of Sir John Maclean's contributions towards the history of a part of the west country. Long before I was aware that he contemplated such a work, I had thought of dealing with the Deanery of Plympton in the same way as he has with the Deanery of Trigg Minor, and I hope, if time, opportunity, and health are given me, that I shall be able to proceed with my intention. It was while making some notes and extracts with a view to this, that I thought a paper on the Ecclesiastical History of the most important town in the Deanery would be of some interest to the members of our Society. I shall have to repeat much of what has been already said in substance, and better than I can hope to do, by Mr. Worth in his most interesting "History of Plymouth," by Mr. Hine, and by others who have taken pleasure in similar researches. My chief authorities are Tanner, Dugdale, the works of Dr. Oliver, the manuscript history of Plymouth by Mr. Henry Woollecombe, in our library, the publications issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, besides other smaller works unnecessary to refer to. I have also seen some extracts made from notes penned by a person called Harris, about the year 1805, containing his recollections of men and things. The volumes in which these notes were made passed through several hands, and became much mutilated. From them have been made from time to time copious extracts, if not full copies, and there are some things in them which may prove to be of value; but as the originals are, I believe, now in the hands of Mr. Jewitt, I refrain from saying more about them, as doubtless when his promised History of Plymouth is published we shall have a full account of whatever is interesting in the volumes. I thought these notes would have been of some assistance to me; but on attempting to verify two or three statements, I find that they are not borne out by facts, and I am not sure that implicit confidence is to be placed in all that Mr. John Harris says in the volumes he calls, "An Essay toward the History of Plymouth; consisting of Vestiges collected and recollected, with neglected Biography of some Characters who have conducted themselves with honour in the

town, and also of some remarkable eccentric persons; with lists of the mayors, and representatives, and charters, &c., written for the use and amusement of my children.

“Story’s the light of time for after ages,
And books are lanthorns which this light encages.”

I believe that Woollcombe, Brindley, and others, used these manuscripts largely; but that they contain some matters of interest hitherto unnoticed, I have no doubt.

In the earliest records in which reference is made to Plymouth ecclesiastically, we find it apparently constituted as a parish.

It would seem that in the ancient church there was at first but one large building in each city for Christians to meet in, and this was called the *parochia*. By and by the signification of the word became enlarged, and by a parish was meant a diocese, or the extent of the jurisdiction of a bishop, consisting of several churches. Parishes in cities and towns are more ancient than those in the country, the latter being unknown before the fourth century. Alexandria is stated to have been the first city divided into parishes.

Nothing certain is known as to the original parochial division of England. There is as much diversity of opinion as to the date when such division took place, as there is as to whether it was originally ecclesiastical or secular. Camden states positively that it was the work of the church, and that our island was formed into parishes by Archbishop Honorius, in the year 630; and Sir Henry Hobart maintains that the work was done in the same way, but not until 1179, by the Council of Lateran. Selden, without committing himself to dates, proves that long after 630 the clergy lived in common, without any particular cures; and it is clear, from the Saxon law, that parishes were in existence long before the Council of Lateran, as they are distinctly shown as recognized divisions in the laws of Edgar, 959–975.*

Whatever the date may be, or whether the division took place all at once or gradually, it seems pretty certain, as Blackstone says, that the boundaries of parishes were first ascertained by those of a manor or manors, because it very seldom happens that a manor extends itself over more than one parish, although there are often many manors in one parish. As Christianity spread, the

* Ordinance of the Hundred; Stubbs’ “Select Charters,” p. 70.

lords of manors began to build churches upon their demesnes or wastes, in order to accommodate their tenants in one or two adjoining lordships, and that they might have divine service regularly performed therein, they obliged their tenants to appropriate their tithes to the maintenance of the one officiating minister, instead of leaving them at liberty to distribute them amongst the clergy of the diocese generally. The tract of land, large or small, the tithes of which were thus appropriated, formed a distinct parish, a circumstance which accounts for the frequent intermixture of one parish with another. For if the lord of the manor had a parcel of land detached from the main part of his estate, it was natural, if it was not sufficient to form a parish of itself, for him to endow the newly-erected church with the tithes of such land.

But this does not throw any light upon the question, as to whether parishes were originally formed for ecclesiastical or civil purposes. We are so accustomed to associate them with matters ecclesiastical, that it is almost impossible to understand that they could have been formed for any purposes but those connected with religion; but from the early periods I have mentioned and downwards, we find in the records, and in the proceedings of Parliament, that parishes are always referred to as the common and known divisions of the hundred. Through the parishes, as now, the Imperial and other taxes were assessed and collected.* The common law also, according to Chief Justice Holt, considers the parish as a secular division in the country; for he has laid it down, "that the parish was made for the ease and benefit of the parishioners, and not of the parson,"† which is, in fact, frequently found to be the case by many a parson, who has little benefit and less ease in his parish in these times. From the time of Edward the First, we find the parish made use of as a convenient division for raising soldiers, and for other purposes connected with state affairs. Every parish in the reign of the second Edward was required to furnish one foot soldier equipped and armed for sixty days. And Parliament is expressly declared to have granted that in every parish in the kingdom the four men and the provost, who had already been named in another relation, should be answerable for one man at arms.‡

But although it is clear that the parish was thus used as a con-

* Toulmin Smith; "The Parish," p. 10. † "Salkeld," vol. iii. p. 88.

‡ Toulmin Smith, p. 18.

venient division for the purposes mentioned, as well as for many others, it does not at all follow that it was therefore necessarily *created* for such purposes; and I believe that, after a careful examination of all the authorities, it will be found that although parishes were used in matters connected with the interests of the commonwealth, they owed their rise and gradual development to the necessities, arising in consequence of the increase of population, for further provision for the spiritual wants of the people.

When a church or oratory was provided by a lord, as I have just mentioned (the means of divine worship provided by the bishop and the monasteries becoming inadequate), bishops readily consecrated the places of worship so established, and consented that the minister or incumbent should be resident in the neighbourhood of his church, and receive, as the provision for his maintenance, the tithes and offerings of the inhabitants, and the endowment, usually land, annexed to it by the founder.*

The formation of parishes, as such, could not have been the work of one generation. Such formation must have gradually advanced according to the growth of the population, and the particular requirements of the locality. Sometimes, in consequence of increase in numbers, or of the devotion of the faithful finding an outlet in church building, other churches were built in the parish as originally formed, and complaint was made (*Temp.* Edward the Confessor)—one, I fear, we never hear in the 19th century—that in some places the churches were too numerous; and it was said, that where formerly there was but one, now there were three or four, and so, that the emoluments of the priest were much diminished.

And thus, as time went on, churches, some good, some indifferent, none bad, (architecturally) sprung up. New parishes were formed; wherever a few people found it necessary to dwell together, a priest was always ready to render them spiritual help; the gospel was preached; the sacraments administered. No place was too poor, no population too small, to prevent these ministrations. When, in the course of some moorland excursion, we reach a little village containing but few inhabitants, we wonder to find a church complete in every respect, and we admire the faith which prompted its erection. The population, it may be, is no larger now than it was centuries ago, when the pious founder decided on building

* Long's "Cyclo.," vol. iii. p. 451.

a house to the glory of his Master ; but he provided not only for the present need ; he looked forward to the time when the faithful should increase, and he built for posterity as well as for his own generation.

Before the commencement of the eighth century the whole southern part of England, from Kent to the furthest extremity of Cornwall, was under the rule of one bishop. Wessex formed one see under St. Birinus, by whom Christianity was introduced into that part of the country in 634.* In the year 703, on the death of St. Hedda the bishop, a great change was made, and Devonshire became part of the diocese of Shireburn (Sherborne). This arrangement continued until 910, when another alteration took place, and Devon was constituted a diocese of itself, the bishop's see being at Crediton. About 1032, the bishopric of Cornwall was united to it at the request of Livingus, the then bishop of the Devonshire diocese ; and, in 1050, bishop Leofric, interesting the Pope and the King in this behalf, removed his episcopal residence from Crediton to Exeter. The reason for the removal was that Exeter was a fortified town, while Crediton was defenceless and much exposed.

In the diocese thus formed, the place we now call Plymouth, then Sutton or the South town (of what place it was south we are ignorant), soon became of importance.

The earliest ecclesiastical records speak of it as already formed into a parish ; and the little village, the mean place, the habitation of fishers, however small, or mean, or poorly inhabited, we may be sure was provided with a suitable building for the celebration of the rites of the Christian religion, even long before the reign of Henry II., after which time Leland says, "It encreased by a litle and a litle."

There is a church frequently referred to as *the Church*, and the *Old Church* ; and I think that the Old Church then, and the Old Church now, occupy the same position. Although it may seem rather distant from what we must suppose to have been then the centre of the population, we shall not, I think, be wrong in coming to this conclusion.

If there was a town or hamlet higher up than that of Sutton, as I firmly believe there was, the situation of the Old Church would be satisfactorily accounted for in connection with the Old

* Oliver's "Lives of the Bishops of Exeter," p. 1.

Town. I do not think that this church of St. Andrew so placed is the church of the fishermen of Sutton. That it was used by them there can be no question.

We all know (if in no other way, from the pleasant pages of Mr. Worth) how Sutton, cared for by the dean and prebendaries of the old college of Plympton, and subsequently by the Augustinian canons, who succeeded them there, flourished and increased. The Church of St. Andrew was, of course, attached to the Priory, the monks being the lords.

The early records of the church of Sutton are few and far between. We find it stated by Camden, that Ealphege was a learned priest here in the reign of William II. ; and in a document preserved in the Cambridge University library, it appears that he held the benefice of Sutton by the gift of the Prior of Plympton. He was succeeded in his cure by his son Sadda, who in his turn was succeeded by Alnodus. The next holder appears to have been Robert Dun or Dun-priest, and he was followed by William Bacon.

We find nothing further relating to the church until the year 1159 or 1179 (there is a little confusion in the date), when a dispute arose between the Prior of Plympton and John de Valletort with respect to the presentation to the benefice. I think this proves that the church could not have been the original church of Sutton Prior ; but that it was in some way connected with the higher part of the town, of which the Valletorts were the lords. The matter came before the king, by whom it was referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester. The question must have been considered of consequence, either from the importance of the place, or from the dignity of the parties between whom the dispute had arisen. The decision was in favour of the prior's right to present, inasmuch as he was able to prove that he and his predecessors had exercised it for such a period as would give him undisputed possession of the patronage.

St. Andrew's is set down in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of the Western Churches, made by the direction of the Pope Nicholas IV., as being of the value of £5 6s. 8d. In 1288 the Pope granted to Edward I. the tenth of the revenues of all the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the service of the Holy Land ; but the king did not avail himself at once of the grant, as the survey was not made until 1291 and 1292.*

* "Annals of England," vol. i. p. 350.

In 1334 the then vicar, William de Wolley, surrendered the benefice, in order to become a perpetual resident, as a religious, at the Priory at Plympton; and on the 23rd November, for some reason or other, perhaps because he did not like to appoint one of the house, the prior, on behalf of himself and fellows, granted to the bishop of the diocese, Grandison, the nomination of the next vicar. On the 23rd December following the bishop appointed a canon of Plympton, Nicholas de Weyland.

But in spite of the right of the prior, thus acted upon, we find, about forty years later, that the king, Edward III., presented, notwithstanding opposition, one John Hanneye to the vicarage then vacant, and the bishop, Brantyngham, proceeded to institute him.

About 1385 John Edenes was the vicar. He was also provost of the College of Glasney, at Penryn. He was a church builder, or restorer; for it was during the time he held the benefice that it is stated a south aisle was added to the church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and licensed by the bishop 20th August, 1385. I am strongly of opinion that this so-called aisle was a chapel, built at the east end of the south aisle, and occupying the space south of the chancel; in other words, an extension of the south aisle. Of course it is possible that an aisle the whole length of the chancel and nave of the church from east to west was added; but if so, the church before this must have been small for the size of the town (notwithstanding, as we shall see by and by, that there were now other provisions for divine worship), the population numbering a few years before 7,000, and the bulk of such population being, we must recollect, (not as now, unfortunately,) frequent church-goers.

I am the more inclined to think that the whole aisle could not have been meant from the wording of the entry in the Registry, "*Ala, Beatae Virginis cancello ecclesie de Sutton ex parte australi contigua et annexa, noviter constructa,*" which surely would not indicate such an important addition as the whole of the south aisle of the church. You may frequently see, I believe (for I am no architect, and stand subject to correction), a church with a nave and one aisle, but never, at all events in Devonshire, with a nave only.

The Brothers Minor, who, as we shall see soon, were by this time firmly established in Plymouth, as well as the Carmelites, now began to give the vicars of St. Andrew trouble. These preaching

friars were always troublesome to the incumbents of parishes. Without asking permission of any one, wherever they saw an opening, they took up their position, regardless of the feelings of the parish priest, and became thorns in his side for long after. The doctrines promulgated, however, were the same in those days, whether they were enunciated by priest or friar; but the complaint was, that the coming of the friars was an intrusion and an interference, and that fees were diverted from the mother church. Perhaps the new style of preaching was rousing, and proved attractive, and drew away the parishioners from the parish church.

Michael Sergeaux, the vicar in 1401, objected to this interference, and obtaining no redress from the bishop, to whom he applied, resolved to appeal to the Pope himself. It was, however, necessary for him to procure leave of the King to do this; but before such leave could be obtained, Michael Sergeaux had done with this and all other worldly affairs, and had entered into his rest. His successor, John Gelys, took the matter up, and, in order to carry it out, applied to the King for the required license, and in due time obtained the following document.*

THE KING, &c., GREETING.—“KNOW ye, that whereas we have learned one Master Michael Sergeaux, late vicar of the parish church of Sutton, near Plymouth, hath prosecuted a certain citation in Court Roman against John Tyssington, then Minister of the Order of Brothers Minor in England, and William Chepton, and other brethren of the same order, for that they have built a new certain house of brethren of the said order within the parish aforesaid without the license of the ordinary, or the license of the aforesaid late vicar, encroaching to themselves divers profits and emoluments to the said church appertaining; to wit, oblations, confessions, burial of the dead, and communication of the parishioners of the same vicar, and the said process in the same court did continue, until the same late vicar did obtain definitive sentence, and before the execution of the sentence aforesaid the said late vicar died, and so the aforesaid John and William the said encroachments, injuries, usurpations, during their whole life; and afterwards Brother Lewis Cardigan and John Tremore and others their successors hitherto have continued, and as yet do continue, to the disinherittance of the church

* Rot. Pat. 3 Hen. IV., p. 2. m. 13, quoted in Oliver's "Monast." p. 151. Woollcombe's MSS. vol. ii.

aforesaid, and to the great damage and manifest destruction of John Gelys, now vicar thereof. We of our special grace, at the supplication of the aforesaid now vicar, have granted, and given license as well to the same now vicar, that he may prosecute, as to the delegates and sub-delegates, and their officers and ministers in the cause aforesaid, that they may make execution of the sentence above-mentioned as of right, and according to ecclesiastical law, ought to be done, any protections or exemptions to the said brethren by us at any time heretofore made notwithstanding; being unwilling that the aforesaid now vicar, or his successors, or the aforesaid delegates, sub-delegates, officers, or ministers aforesaid, by us, or our heirs, or our ministers, whatsoever thereupon, should be impeded, molested, or in any wise injured."

We do not know how the matter ended; but we do know that the Gray Friars were not disturbed, and that parish priest and preaching friar each pursued their course in Plymouth. In all probability the latter took no notice of the proceedings in any way.

About the year 1440 William Ketterigge or Ketrick (the first mayor named in the Act of Incorporation) and the commonalty of Plymouth entered into an agreement with John, by Divine permission Prior of St. Germans, to find every year for ever in the parish church of St. Andrew, at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary there, one fit chaplain to attend, for the celebration of divine service, on the days when it should be so ordered, and to pray for the souls of Richard Trenode of Bristol, and Alice his late wife, and of Joan his then present wife, and William Venour, and Thomazine his wife (sister of Richard Trenode), and others of their relations and friends, for the benefits the town had received from its being incorporated through the assistance given by them. The memory of Richard Trenode has faded, but from the Venour family the Ward of Vintry was named. But who now connects this ward with the persons through whose exertions the town received so much benefit, and for which the then authorities were so grateful?

We also find somewhere about this time, I suppose, a gift of — Dabnone and John Paynter, "to fynde a pryst to praye for the sowles of the founders, and mynystre dyvine service in the quyer in y^e parish churche of Plymouthe; paying unto Margaret Sommester, sometyme wyfe unto John Paynter, one of y^e sayd

founders, xviiij^s yerelye for her dowry, which is deue unto her during [her] naturale lyf,"* and the yearly value of the lands thus given amounted to £9 2s. 4d.

There was an annual Church Ale† held for the benefit of St. Andrew's. Mr. Worth‡ gives a copy of an interesting document extracted from the Black Book of the Corporation.

In 1441 a further addition was made to the parish church, the north aisle being then built. I believe this also to have been a similar addition as the aisle of the Blessed Virgin just spoken of. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. I speculate sometimes as to who the founder of this aisle might have been, and have come to the conclusion, with little or no evidence to support it, that it was one John Jabeyn. This John, by his will dated 1st December, 1441, directed that his body should be buried at St. Andrew in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, near the altar there. And he also gave certain lands for the maintenance of a chaplain to say mass daily at the Altar of St. John the Baptist in the said church of St. Andrew the apostle, of Plymouth. We shall see by and by what became of these lands.

In 1460, or thereabout, a work was accomplished by a townsman, which has handed down his name, harsh and unpoetical as it is, to the present time, and for many a year to come the memory of Thomas Yogge will be cherished in the good town of Plymouth.

Yogge undertook, if the town would be at the cost of the materials (Leland calls them "stuff"), to erect a tower to the parish church, and the result was, as we see now, the massive tower of St. Andrew. The tower was built, the Corporation Black Book says, in 1441.

Not content with thus showing his interest in God's house, the good man added a fair chapel on the north side of the church, which I take to be the chapel which is now usually called the north transept.

Also, "this Thomas Yogge made a fair house of moorstone in the town towards the haven. This Thomas made a goodly house of moorstone on the north side of the churchyard of Plymouth parish church." Thus far Leland, who found that the works of Yogge were not forgotten when he visited Plymouth a century

* "Chantry Roll." Oliver's Monast. p. 479.

† For a good account of Church Ales, see Roberts's "Social History," p. 327.

‡ "History of Plymouth," p. 151.

later. Just now we want a Thomas Yogge to restore the church somewhat to the state it was in when he worshipped there.

Alas for the ingratitude of the men of Plymouth in the 15th century! Although Yogge had done so much, he had enemies, and you know what happened. A bye-law was passed, framed with special intent. It was resolved that no man should be made free unless he was a whole or half-brother of the guild of our Lady and St. George. Yogge, being neither, was treated (municipally) as a heathen man and a publican. And this after having served the office of mayor three times.

On the 30th of June, 1472, John Stubbes was licensed perpetual vicar of St. Andrew. He was Treasurer of the cathedral, but resigned on being appointed Precentor. He afterwards became Archdeacon of Barnstaple.

John Stubbes seems to have been an active vicar. He was not satisfied with following in the steps of his predecessors, but took an interest in the outlying parts of his parish. Stonehouse, St. Budeaux, the chapel of St. Pancras (Pennycross), and other places, were under the special care of the mother church, to which all the inhabitants of the then extensive parish of St. Andrew owed allegiance. We may conclude that these places were becoming more populous. The vicar applied to the bishop, and obtained a license for the purpose of appointing a priest to officiate in the chapel of St. Lawrence, at Stonehouse. In 1482 he also seems to have assisted the inhabitants of St. Budeaux. It appears that they preferred a petition to the bishop on his visitation, setting forth that baptism and burial were offices for which the inhabitants had ever been accustomed to resort to the mother church; that such attendance was very inconvenient, the distance three miles, and frequent impediments occurring; that other divine services, except baptism and burial, were and had been of ancient usage solemnized at the chapel by the vicars of St. Andrew, or by their deputy, at the expense of the said vicars for the time being; and the petition concludes by asking that not only all other parts of divine service, but baptisms and burials likewise, might for the future be celebrated at the chapel of St. Budox, and that a piece of ground contiguous thereto might be consecrated for a cemetery.

The parties concerned in the matter were the Prior of Plympton, David Berkleigh, patron of the Vicarage of St. Andrew; the vicar, John Stubbes; and the wardens and twenty-three of the inhabitants

of St. Budeaux, who are named. The bishop considered the petition, and all the parties having bound themselves to abide by his decision, his lordship, at the Priory of Plympton, on the 20th May, 1482, under his seal, decreed, that, in addition to all the ecclesiastical services performed at the chapel of St. Budox of ancient usage, baptisms and burials should in future be likewise there solemnized; that a cemetery should, at the costs and charges of the inhabitants, be consecrated contiguous to the chapel; that the vicar and his successors should at all future times provide, at his own expense, a chaplain to reside there; that the inhabitants should on their parts build him a house thirty feet by sixteen feet, within the ground of the sanctuary; that they should for ever repair, and, if necessary, rebuild the same house and their chapel, and supply it with all things requisite for divine service at their own costs, the said chapel having been originally consecrated as a favour to them; that the said wardens and inhabitants should not do anything to the detriment of the mother church of St. Andrew or its parishioners, but do in all things as they were formerly accustomed to do; that they should not intermeddle with the pasture or trees of the cemetery to be consecrated; that they should pay fourpence a year in the chapel to the prior and convent, and to the vicar of St. Andrew forty shillings yearly, and the customary offerings to the curate; and that unless they did all things as provided, the privileges given them should cease, and they should resort again to St. Andrew's church for baptism and burial, and pay forty shillings fine to the vicar of St. Andrew.

And so it was settled; but whether the parishioners rebuilt their chapel or made the old one do, we cannot say, but we find that the church did not remain very long; for in the middle of the sixteenth century, in 1563, a new church, the present edifice,* was built higher up, the old one being found inconvenient for the parishioners. Thus St. Budeaux became a parish, and under the conditions referred to, free from leading strings.

Early in the 16th century, Hadrian de Castello, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, was the vicar of St. Andrew. What brought an ecclesiastic of such rank into these parts we can only conjecture. In April, 1509, he became Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the first and only cardinal of which Plymouth can boast quitted it for ever.

* Lysons' "Devon," p. 89.

Mr. Worth says—"If we may trust Browne Willis, early in the last century, the vicars of the two parishes used to derive a considerable portion of their income from the compulsory use of palls, the loan of which was charged for according to the quality of the deceased, 2*s.* 6*d.*, 5*s.*, or 10*s.*"*

I find, however, that long before there was a second vicar in Plymouth, viz., in the year 1490, the mayor, and the twelve and the twenty-four had something to say in the matter, if not of palls, of the copes then belonging to the church of St. Andrew, together with certain vestments used in connection with burial offices, and on the 12th January in that year a regulation, or by-law, was passed in the following words:—

"Memorandum that the 12th day of January, the 5th year of King Henry VII., Thomas Grayson, mayre of the Burghe of Plymouthe, the 12 and the 24 being then the counsell of the saide Burghe or Pisshe of Plymouthe, what degree that he be of for his buryng, not giving the church the sum of xx^s. in value have use, nor occupie any of the best coppes and vestments, unless then he or they that will so have them pay to the wardyns of St. Andrewe's Church of the sd. Pisshe x^s. And the second blue coppes vi^s. viii^d. And this to be kept yerely ferme and stabyl. Except that the Bisshop of Norwiche at his dirige shall have the best coppes yerely without anything paying. And also Robert Fuller for his diriges to have the second blue coppes. And the best coppe wherein is his marke to be hadde yerely for him free without any payment. And also that the wardyns of the said church for the time being yerely shall accompt for the said money of the said coppes as well as for money receyved by them for Xths and other thinges appteyning to the church, and that money to be employed and sett upon the said coppes of neyde be, and also to the use of the church aforesaid by the oversight of the mayre and wardyns for the time being. And if any wardyns deliver the said coppes contrary to the ordinance aforesaid they shall pay the sommes aforesaid and stonde in the Mayres grace for the breking," &c., &c.

The mayor and his brethren seem to have been mixed up in other ways in matters connected with the church; for in the year 1499, on 20th February, they appointed four wardens of St. Andrew's Steeple, one for each ward—William Thickpenny, Peryn Erle, William Rogger, and John Browne. There is no other similar

* "History of Plymouth," p. 155; Willis, *Not. Parl.* vol. ii. p. 290.

entry, and I have only recently discovered what I think was the reason for this appointment.

You know that it is stated in the Black Book belonging to the Corporation that the tower was built in 1441. But so late as the 20th February, 1499, the time when these wardens were appointed, payments in connection with its erection had not ceased, as we find from an old account book of the Town. From the entries, it would seem that Yogge was not at the sole expense of the labour. It is stated that Thomas Tresawell had delivered unto Rogger and Erle, wardens of "Seynt Andrew's Stypyll," £31; and John Painter, who was the mayor, had delivered to the said wardens for John Rowland and others, £23 6s. 8d. To these wardens, in all probability, was committed the task of seeing the completion of the tower carried out. The Abbot of Tavistock sent towards the cost 31s. 2d., and also ten quarters of lime. But still these payments may have been for repairs only. Would you know the name of the mason who built the tower? It was John Andrew.

I do not find anything of particular interest connected with the church after this. When the smash came, every ecclesiastical foundation in Plymouth, except that of St. Andrew, shared in the general ruin; St. Andrew being a parish church was spared. There is no record of the town paying anything to the king, or to any of those who were enriching themselves at the expense of the country and the people, as was done in numberless cases; as, for instance, those mentioned by Oliver.* At Crediton, the inhabitants were compelled, in order to save their church from destruction, to pay £200. The Abbey church of St. Albans was similarly saved by the payment of £400 by the townsmen. And Malmesbury the same. The Abbey churches of Tewkesbury, and even Westminster, were rescued from ruin by corresponding sacrifices. Edward, Duke of Somerset, had intended to demolish Westminster, to raise a palace for himself equal to his vast designs, and was only prevented by Dean Benson transferring to him much property, and to his brother Lord Thomas Seymour as much more, accompanying the gift to the latter with a letter beseeching him to stand their good lord and patron to preserve them in a fair esteem with the Lord Protector. Somerset made a rich harvest during the suppression of religious establishments. Latimer offered him 200 marks, and the king 500 marks, if he would spare the church of Great Malvern. Lord Chancellor Audley offered Cromwell £20 for St. Osyth's Abbey in

* Monast., p. 77.

Essex. But all applications were useless to save St. Mary's, the most beautiful cathedral and mother church of Coventry. It was pulled in pieces, and reduced to rubbish. And these are only a few instances out of numbers.

Perhaps the spoil of the church, which doubtless was rich in altar plate, embroidered vestments, and costly furniture, the treasured accumulations of many generations, was thought sufficient. The churchwardens of St. Andrew were perhaps not so shrewd as the churchwardens of a church in an adjoining county, who, being apprehensive of a descent of the commissioners, took the precaution of handing over their altar plate to "Master John Trevelyian, Esq., at all times at their need to be had of the aforesaid Master John Trevelyian, Esq.;" and it therefore so happened that when the visitors, who were appointed to "examine what church plate, jewels, and other furniture was in cathedrals and churches, and to sell copes and altar cloths, and to deliver all the rest of the plate and jewels to the King's treasurer," Nettlecombe had no account to give, the visitors went empty away, and the parish preserved their patens and chalices. And to this piece of most justifiable craft some of the most interesting and beautiful altar plate, dating from very early in the thirteenth century, has been preserved to us.

St. Andrew's church has no pre-reformation plate. Its most ancient possession, I believe, is a chalice, having engraved upon it the date 1590. After the visitors had departed, the church was left with naked altars, bare walls, and crippled resources, to carry on the work up to that time shared in by the other religious foundations in the town.

And it was not long before troubles began. The amount paid up to the time of the surrender of Plympton Priory to the revenues of that establishment went to the king.*

* The following is from the Valor Eccl. Hen. VIII., 1535.

Plymmouth cum capellis S'c'or' Budoc' & Pancras'.

Vicaria ib'm valet p. annū. cum xⁱⁱ p. decima piscu.

<i>Et p. lana & agn'</i>	—	lxxv	—	} £ s. d.
<i>Et p. decimis psonal'</i>	.	.	.	.	vij	—	—
<i>Et p. feno</i>	.	.	.	.	—	xx	—
<i>Et p. omibz aliis decimis & oblac' dce vicarie p'tin.</i>	xj	xv	vij					
<i>Inde solut' annuati unam annualem pencoem Johi priori de Plympton & success' suis</i>	.	.	.	.	vij	—	—
<i>Et archid' Totton & success' suis annuati p. pcur.</i>	—				v	—	—	} xxv x ix
<i>Et p. Sinod'</i>	.	.	.	.	—	ijj	ijj
<i>Et p. visitacoe epō Exon' & success' suis annuati</i>	.	.	.	.	—	—	xx
<i>Et rem' clare.</i>								
<i>In' p. X^{ma}.</i>				— l j j

Not content with taking away its emoluments, the unfortunate vicars were actually compelled to pay up the yearly sum hitherto reserved to the patrons on presentation.

The letters patent of Elizabeth, dated 20th February, 1572, recite that the Vicarage of Plymouth was in arrear to the Crown £112, payable out of the same vicarage, as being parcel of the Priory of Plympton, &c.; that the revenues of the aforesaid vicarage, so burthened with the annual payment and arrears, were unable to maintain a vicar to perform the said cure, and that on account of the small annual value of the said vicarage no incumbent could be found to undertake the said cure, and that neither the arrears could be raised, nor the pension paid by any incumbent out of the same; and then the Queen granted to the mayor and commonalty the arrears of the said pension, the advowson of the vicarage and church, and the annual pension, the mayor and commonalty and their successors for ever finding a fit person to serve the cure, and supporting a free grammar school within the said town of Plymouth, and so on.

And thus, somewhat ignominiously I think, concludes the story of St. Andrew's church and its connection with old Plymouth.

And yet, in spite of the confusion, charity was not altogether dead, nor men's hearts entirely hardened, by what was going on around. John Howe (not the last Prior of Plympton, he was enjoying his annuity in peace and quietness at Exeter College, Oxford) gave some church vestments to John Ford and John Derry, to be sold, and the produce to be distributed among the poor according to their wisdom and discretion. This was in 1563. We have no knowledge as to who John Howe was; but he was probably a priest connected with some of the religious establishments in the town.

During the disturbances in the reign of Edward VI., and again during the Rebellion, all the churches of Devonshire suffered to a very great extent, and many of the crosses and images both inside and outside the churches were destroyed. Indeed, there can be no question but that comparatively little injury was done to the fabrics of those churches which were suffered to remain at the time of the Reformation. The greatest part of the mischief was the handy-work of the Puritans in the 17th century. It is said that the marks of the bullets fired at the images of saints in the niches of the tower can be seen at the present moment.

And now we must retrace our steps, and speak of the religious orders which from time to time were represented in Plymouth.

I believe the oldest settlers were the Carmelites. They belonged to the Mendicant Friars, although they were not originally such. They derived their name from Mount Carmel, where their monasteries were at first situated. They claim to be of very ancient origin, their founder being no other than the prophet Elijah,* and having as members all the prophets and Old Testament saints, from Elijah to Christ, and, I believe as well, all the heathen philosophers, to say nothing of the ancient Druids.

It is, however, long after the time of these great ones, so long, indeed, that it seems almost ridiculous to mention the year A.D. 1209, that any historical information is to be obtained. In that year some monks living on Mount Carmel procured a rigid rule of life, in sixteen articles, under the hand of the patriarch Albert, of Jerusalem. They were to hold no property, to live in separate cells, to continue day and night in prayer, to keep silence, to fast from the festival of the Holy Cross until Easter, except on Sundays, to abstain from flesh at all times, and to labour with their hands, with many other rules, which were all confirmed by the Pope Honorius III. in 1224. Soon after the doubtful peace concluded by Frederic II. with the Sultan, in 1229, the Saracens deprived the Carmelites of their convents, and drove them from the mountain, and they resolved, to avoid further persecution, to leave Palestine, and thus became scattered in all directions. Some took refuge in Cyprus, and in 1238 founded a monastery there; some, who were Sicilians, returned to their own country, and settled at Messina; and others, in 1244, settled in Provence, where they had a house in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. Several of the English brethren came to England for the purpose of establishing houses here. These brethren do not seem to have been thrown on their own resources, as were the others; for the story goes that Richard Grey and John Vesey, knights, two English commanders, being near Mount Carmel, resolved to visit the same in devotion, and there they found, among others, several of their countrymen leading hermits' lives, being induced by whose sanctity, they obtained leave of the prior for some

* For an account of the disputes as to the origin of the Carmelites, see Goschler's "Dict. Ency. Theo. Catholique," tome iv. p. 52. I am much indebted to this article for the following account.

of them to return in their company into England. Accordingly they came back together into England, either in the year 1238 or two years later, Rodolphus Fresham being provincial; and, by the protection and assistance of the said knights, they afterwards obtained a residence at Aylesford, in Kent, and another at Holney, near Alnwick, in Northumberland, and within a few years were found in the principal cities of the kingdom.

Their numbers rapidly increased, and in 1245 they held their European General Chapter at their house at Aylesford, founded only five years before by Richard Lord Gray, of Codnor, one of the knights referred to in the extract I have just read from Anthony a Wood. At this Chapter Simon Stock, an Englishman, was elected the superior of the whole order.

After the establishment of the Carmelites in Europe (perhaps the result of the Chapter at Aylesford), they were changed, in the year 1247, into a mendicant order, and their rule was considerably altered, the difference of climate requiring a modification of their stricter laws, which were again further relaxed by the Popes Eugenius IV. and Pius II.

The order thus became divided into two branches, the Carmelites of the ancient observance, and those who adopted the less severe rule of life.

I should also mention, that when they first came to England, the dress was not white. The habit was originally white, but the Saracens compelled the unfortunate monks on Mount Carmel to wear a party-coloured dress; and for some time after they left Palestine, in England and elsewhere, they continued this coloured dress; but in 1290 the Carmelite resumed his ancient frock, and the White Friar became distinguished from all others by the colour of his robe.

King Edward the II. was a great friend of the order, and there were about forty monasteries in England and Wales.

They were studious and learned men, and Stevens gives a catalogue of the most celebrated Englishmen, who were writers, belonging to the Carmelites, amounting in number to no less than one hundred and thirty-seven.*

I think that the character of the Carmelite rule must have considerably altered in course of time in England, and that they did not continue as a body long as mendicant preachers, but that they

* Dugdale; "Monast. Angl.," vol. vi. part iii. p. 1570.

devoted themselves to the study of divinity, the instruction of the young, and the administration of spiritual consolation and advice, rather than either to the contemplative life, or to what we should now call street preaching. They had important schools at Oxford and elsewhere, and much care and attention were given by them to the formation of libraries and the care of their books.

We have no account of the establishment of the Carmelites in the West Country. There was but one foundation connected with the order, I believe, in either Devon or Cornwall, and that is the one which was situated at the east end of Plymouth, in the tithing of Sutton Ralf.

Some Carmelites had, prior to the year 1314, settled down in Plymouth, and, as I said just now, as was usual with the mendicant orders, made things very lively in the town, and uncomfortable for the quiet steady-going clergy of the parish who did their work in the old-fashioned way. The advent of a party of preaching friars in the neighbourhood gave rise to much opposition, ill-feeling, and party spirit.

The preaching friar had no respect whatever for the opinions of the vicar of St. Andrew, or for the monks of Plympton, or for vested rights of any kind; he saw sin and misery around, and proceeded to do his best to point out the remedy for the one, and assuage, as far as in his power lay, the other. He preached, distributed alms, he baptized, absolved, communicated, wherever he saw occasion, without enquiring whether he was intruding with the special work of any one else. The good vicar was horrified to find that the white-frocked friar, perhaps dirty and uncouth, preaching with rough eloquence now at the market cross, now on the Hoe, now on the Barbican, drew the people of Plymouth to hear him; and his surprise was great when he found that the people not only listened, but took heed. The monks of Plympton, too, could not understand why these friars, without any of the inducements which they could hold out, were so sought after. Why could not parish priest and monk see that times were altering, that the direction of men's minds was being changed, that another spirit was working, and that for altered needs there must be altered work? But this they could not see, and for some time the spiritual life and energy infused into the masses by the preaching friar averted the storm, which at last broke, and involved priest, monk, and friar in the general downfall.

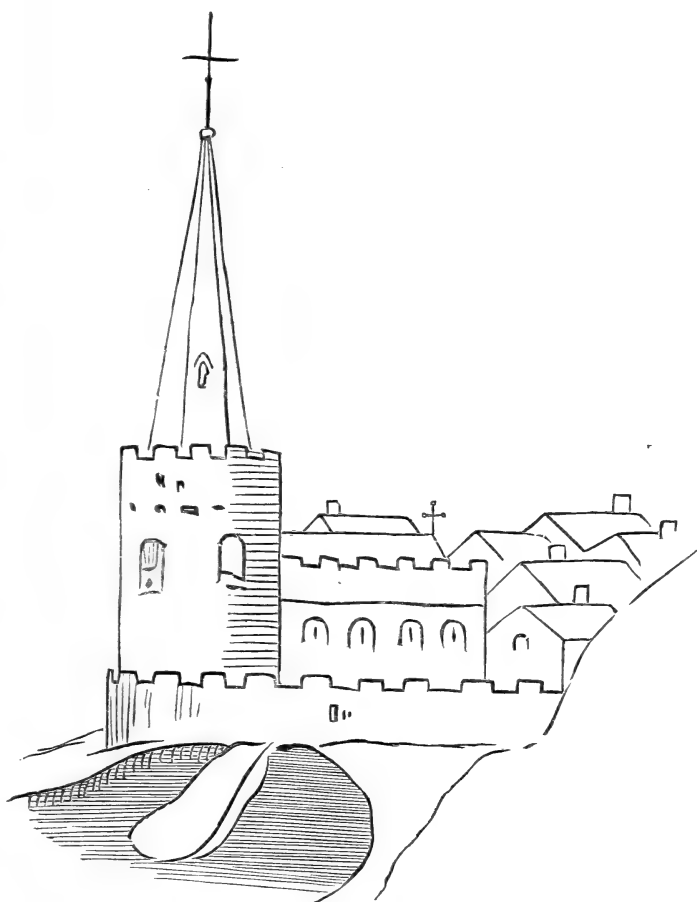
And by and by, as years rolled on, how we cannot tell, the Carmelites acquired a piece of land in a part of the town far from the parish church, and as the vicar and his patrons saw rising day by day the walls of a structure, evidently intended for a church, and preparations being made for other extensive buildings, they thought the time was come to bestir themselves, and complaint was made to the bishop that something was going on with which he ought to be acquainted, and request was made that he would stop these strange proceedings. The complaint was not without effect, and sharp remonstrance from the bishop came in due course.

The Carmelites, however, were not the men to be baffled, and they laid the matter before the king, Edward II., who had always stood their friend. The king took up their cause, interceded with the bishop, and with such effect that he not only overlooked the irregularity, whatever it was, but issued his license, 28th September, 1314, for the religious men of the order of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel to celebrate the divine offices within their land at Sutton. Nor was this all. Bishop Stapledon also gave them a license empowering any bishop, whom they could find willing to help them, to consecrate their church. They were not, however, to bury strangers, dying within the parish of St. Andrew, without the consent of the vicar.

Now, I am inclined to think that what we should now call a district was assigned to the White Friars. Their church and house was situate far away from the parish church. Doubtless there was a good population around the locality selected, and the vicar, perhaps, was not sorry to have the care taken off his shoulders without any cost to himself; and from the fact that the friars were thus evidently allowed to discharge all divine offices, except to bury strangers, I think that we shall not be far wrong in concluding that Sutton Prior was the parish of which St. Andrew was the church; that Sutton Ralf was the tithing, the church of which was the White Friars.

We thus find the Carmelites firmly established in Plymouth. They proceeded with their buildings, which extended far east, and on the north to what we now call Tothill-lane, hard by where now another convent stands, and where a church, but not of so imposing an appearance as the old one of the White Friars, has been recently erected.

But in 1374 there was further trouble. The prior was one



THE CHURCH OF THE WHITE FRIARS.

Henry Sutton, and in a case which, for some reason or other, had been reserved, either for consideration or for a reference as to the course to be adopted, he presumed to absolve the offender, a breach of duty which Bishop Brantyngham thought it necessary to visit with excommunication on the 17th September. He was soon, however, reconciled to the bishop, and probably no great harm was done.

In June, 1387, the commissioners appointed in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy sat in this church, and in the Refectory of the Friary. In 1385, Richard II. was in Scotland, and, among other knights, Lord Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor were with the King and his army. During the expedition Scrope challenged the right of Grosvenor to bear the arms, "*Azure, a bend or*;" and in August, 1385, a proclamation was made "throughout the host in Scotland, that all who were interested in the dispute should appear at Newcastle-on-Tyne on the 20th of the month. Lord Scrope attended, but the further consideration of the subject was adjourned, and the suit continued for upwards of four years." It is unnecessary to detail the circumstances of this controversy here, but Scrope succeeded in fully establishing his right to bear the arms. The commissioners wandered over the kingdom taking evidence. In Devonshire they seem to have sat at Plymouth and at Tiverton, and among those who gave evidence were Richard de Sutton and Johan Fitz Richard de Sutton, Esquier.*

Almost the only knowledge we have of the structure is from the map or chart which is familiar to us all, many copies and facsimiles having been made.† You will notice how prominently the Convent of the White Friars stands out. The church, with its chancel, indicated by the cross over it, is very conspicuous. The tower and spire must have been very handsome, and apparently not inferior to that of St. Andrew. The buildings were very extensive.

At the dissolution the whole came to the King, from whom, it is stated (and if so, presumably by purchase), it passed into the

* See Scrope and Grosvenor Roll (*De Controversia in Curia Militari inter Ricardum le Scrope et Robertum Grosvenor Milites Rege Ricardo Secundo, 1385-1390. E recordis in Turre Londinensi asservatis*). Edited by Sir N. Harris Nicolas.

† This map is supposed to have been drawn in the reign of Henry VIII. It includes a sketch of the coast from the Land's End, with views of the principal places. It is on parchment, and, I believe, about 18 inches wide, and 15 feet long. Mr. Worth thinks that Leland may have had something to do with it.

hands of the mayor and corporation. Whether it was intended that it should be the church of Sutton Ralf, as is I think probable, we do not know; but what the mayor and his brethren did with it we can tell. They used it for municipal purposes; perhaps wanting a guildhall, they held their meetings in it, and in the tower they deposited their archives. But this desecration was not permitted to continue long; for we find the following entry in the Black Book of the corporation.

“In this year was a great insurrection throughout all the realm of England, and especially in the counties of Devon and Cornwall, in which time the City of Exeter and the Castle of Plymouth were valiantly defended, until the coming of the Lord Russell, Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Lieutenant, unto the King’s Majesty for that time in these west parts, who, having a great army, subdued the said rebels, of which were slain at the same time, divers put to execution, and [others] taken prisoners and conveyed to London, and afterward hanged at Tyburne. Then was our steeple burnt with all the town’s evidence in the same.”

This burning was on the 15th August, 1549, and the same day the rebels were driven out of Plymouth, and eighty of them taken prisoners, as appears by the registers at St. Budeaux.

There is some little confusion as to the subsequent owners of the church and buildings of the White Friars. They are said to have been purchased by Giles and Gregory Iselham, who also obtained possession of the property of the Gray Friars, as we shall see. I am inclined to think there is some mistake as to this, as not long after the attack of the rebels it was in the possession of the Sparkes family who probably purchased from the town. Members of this family are buried at St. Andrew’s, and they are described as of the Friary in the 16th and early in the 17th centuries. The arms of the family are still to be seen on the keystone of an arch. The site passed in 1814 from William Sparkes, by his will, to John Molesworth, the son of Sir John Molesworth, of Pencarrow. In 1785 Mr. William Clarke purchased it of Sir William Molesworth, and in 1814 it was sold to the late Mr. Thomas Bewes, M.P., and it is now the property of his son, the Rev. Thomas A. Bewes.*

There must have been much of the ancient buildings left until recent years, for I find that the eastern wing was in the year 1795

* The Rev. T. A. Bewes has kindly furnished me with this information.

converted into a military hospital, where 300 soldiers died of some infectious disease brought into the town by the troops in that year, in the months of January, February, and March. Almost the last important remains (all, indeed, except those now to be seen) were destroyed in 1836. Up to this time a part of the church and tower was still standing. There were extensive gardens, and one, Mr. Woolcombe says, was surrounded by a terrace, which commanded very fine views of the harbour. The foundations of some of the buildings and considerable portions of the walls are still to be seen.

And thus vanish the possessions of the Carmelites in Plymouth; but Friary Street, Whitefriars Street, Whitecross Street, still keep alive the memory of the Friars and their church and convent.

If there were any Dominicans ever in Plymouth, they should have been mentioned before the Carmelites. It was thought by Dr. Oliver that the Black Friars never had any settlement in Plymouth. This conclusion he came to, of course, from his having been unable to find any records of their having had an establishment here. But I cannot help expressing my opinion (which is shared by others), with the greatest deference to the late doctor, that a building in Southside Street contains the remains of a religious house belonging to this body, which house extended, at all events, as far east as Blackfriars Lane; this name and the name of an adjoining house going far to prove that the friars were in this neighbourhood. I do not at all imagine that it was a place of any magnitude or importance. I hope some day evidence will be forthcoming to confirm this opinion. The distillery of Messrs. Coates and Company is the building I refer to. On the top of the front of this house a large stone cross was suffered to remain up to the year 1808. If the site of the distillery did not belong to the Dominicans, it is somewhat difficult to say to whom it did belong; for an ecclesiastical building of some kind it certainly was. It is not likely that the Black Friars would have passed over a town like Plymouth.* But at present all is conjecture with reference to any settlement of the Black Friars in this town.

It was in the month of September, in the year 1226, two years

* Harris says there was a chapel here which was used by the two last Stuarts; and if so, it may be the chapel in which the last masses were said in England by Roman Catholic priests, there being a tradition of this kind floating about the town. There are many interesting remains in the neighbourhood both of ecclesiastical and domestic architecture.

before the death of St. Francis, that four clerics and five laymen landed at Dover. They were Angnellus of Pisa, Richard of Intworth, Richard of Devonshire, and William Esseby, the three last of course Englishmen. The first was a deacon, the second a priest, and the other two were in minor orders. The laymen were Henry of Trevisa, Lawrence of Belvaco, William of Florence, Melioratus and Jacobus Ultramontanus.

They were Franciscan Friars, taking their name from the founder of their order, also called Gray Friars, from the colour of their habit, and Friars Minor, as the youngest and humblest of the religious orders. They were the first Franciscans known in England, and it is interesting to find that one was a Devonshire man.*

The era was an important one in the religious history of the world when St. Francis sent forth his converts. Among the upper and middle classes evil tendencies were at work; Eastern influences were making themselves felt, and interfering with the orthodox currents of thought; but a large number of the people were without instruction of any kind. The various religious bodies were unable to cope with this state of things. In the country the religious houses provided for the spiritual welfare of the bulk of the inhabitants, and administered to the temporal necessities of those requiring such help, and in such neighbourhoods things were comfortable enough perhaps, both socially and religiously. But in the towns it was far otherwise. While the population was small there was no difficulty; but soon, when the town extended, when the people increased, ignorance and poverty, disease, filth, and misery existed without any prospect of alleviation. Fever, plague, and the sweating sickness were common, and from time to time thinned the ranks of the poor, and also claimed their victims from the classes above. When the scourge passed on, no remedy was proposed, and no attempt was made to prevent its recurrence; no sanitary precautions were taken. "Upon the higher ground," says Mr. Brewer, "as may be seen in many towns in England in the present day, stood the guildhall and the ward of the aldermen, distinguished by houses partially built of stone, forming a striking contrast to the outer circle, and the suburbs, where, down to the water's edge, and straggling beyond it in an uncertain and pre-

* I am mainly indebted for the account of the Franciscans and their works to the most interesting and valuable preface of Professor Brewer to the "*Monumenta Franciscana*," and from it I have quoted largely.

carious tenure, rose wooden sheds, rudely plastered or whitewashed, on the edge of the town ditch, sheltering the last new settlers that had flocked into the town for occupation or protection—a mixed race, of whom little enquiry was made; tolerated, not acknowledged—of all blood, all climates, all religions, permitted to live or die, as it pleased God or themselves, provided only that they yielded due obedience to the proper civic authorities. Here the leprosy and the plague were certain to enter first; here infection did its worst. In the higher city there might be parish churches and schools; a skilful leech to look after the welfare, bodily and spiritual, of the inhabitants. In defect of these, the different guilds established in the city proper provided in some measure for the instruction and comfort of the master and his apprentices. The city ponds and rivulets yielded fresh water to those who were willing to fetch it; the chaplain of the guild, its church or chapel, provided for the common worship and spiritual welfare of its members; the common purse of the guild furnished relief against sudden misfortune, and paid for the funeral obsequies and masses of the defunct brother. But for those who did not belong to the guilds, who resided in the suburbs, so to speak, and increased daily and rapidly in the unsettled condition of the country, or as the oppression, or harshness, or stern justice of the feudal baron made the town a more safe and desirable abiding place than the country,—for these there were no such advantages. Imagination can only conceive their condition; history is silent.”*

“Leprosy, fostered by bad diet, wretched lodging, and squalid clothing, was a bitter scourge to the town population. The disease imported from the East had broken out in the 13th century with unusual violence; loathsome and infectious in the highest degree, it spared none. It appeared equally without warning in the king’s court or council chamber, and in the degraded purlieu of the city. Once a leper always a leper. The medical skill of that age knew no cure; political economy could devise no precautions—none, except the most necessary, as the most cruel, the dismemberment of the infected limb. The leper was driven from home and occupation, from family and township; he was disqualified from approaching house or city, deprived of all civil rights, banished from the Church. The political economist of the 13th century had skill enough to accomplish this much, no more: leprosy, like pauperism,

* “Mon. Fran.” p. 8.

was made penal; but the bitterest penalty that man could inflict did not extinguish lepers or paupers; they still continued to cumber the face of God's earth, to the discomfiture of the medieval economist and his political regulations."*

I need not tell you how St. Francis saw these things, and how with aching heart, but simple faith, he set himself the task of endeavouring to remedy them. It was to the classes I have mentioned that the follower of St. Francis directed his attention; it was among the miseries I have referred to that the Franciscan found his work.

Mr. Brewer has investigated the situations of the religious houses of the order in England, and he finds that they generally were planted in the most wretched localities. In London their first house at their settlement stood in the neighbourhood of Cornhill, where they built cells, stuffing the party walls with dried grass. Near the Shambles in Newgate, and close upon the city gate of that name, on a spot appropriately called Stinking Lane, rose the chief house of the order in England. In Oxford, the parish of St. Ebbes; in Cambridge, the decayed Town Gaol; in Norwich, the water side, running close to the walls of the town, are the special and chosen spots of the Franciscan missionary. In all instances the poverty of their buildings corresponded with those of the surrounding district; their living and lodging no better than the poorest among whom they settled. At Cambridge their chapel was erected by a single carpenter in one day. At Shrewsbury, where, owing to the liberality of the townsmen, the dormitory walls had been built of stone, the minister of the order had them removed and replaced with mud. Decorations and ornaments of all kinds were zealously excluded. At Gloucester, a friar was deprived of his hood for painting his pulpit, and the warden of the same place suffered similar punishment for tolerating pictures. Their meals corresponded with the poverty of their buildings. Mendicancy might encourage idleness, but it also secured effectually the mean and meagre diet of the friars. It kept them on a par with the masses among whom their founder intended them to labour. They could not sell their offerings; they were not permitted to receive more than their actual necessities required—meal, salt, figs, and apples, wood for firing, stale beer, or milk. Whatever the weather, however rough the way, they

* "Mon. Fran." p. 21.

threaded the muddy streets and unpaved roads bare-footed and bare-headed, often leaving the prints of their bleeding feet upon the ground, in gowns of the coarsest cloth, which the most economical poor-law guardian of this 19th century would be ashamed to offer to the most refractory pauper in a parish workhouse. St. Francis had provided carefully for the poverty of his order. If the gospel net, woven out of purple and fine linen, had hitherto rather scared than caught the fish it was intended to enclose, the founder of the mendicant orders took care that it should be as coarse and home-spun as poverty itself could make it.

With leprosy the utmost men could do was to banish it, as I said just now, "to shut it out, to ignore its existence, and close their eyes; not, however, without misgivings that it might break out, like God's vengeance, among their own sons and daughters; that Miriam and Aaron might perchance be excluded from the camp, and leave their families plague-spotted and despised. But St. Francis was a simple-minded man; he adopted those means for grappling with the evil that none but an enthusiast and a visionary would have taken."

In conformity with his own practice, we are told that St. Francis enjoined his friars to dwell in the leper hospitals, and there learn a lesson of humility. Whoever desired admission into his order, noble or ignoble, was commanded an attendance on leprous patients. If by the establishment of leper hospitals, and a general improvement of the towns, that terrible scourge has so completely disappeared that its very name is disarmed of all meaning, it was no phantom then, "no poor paper lantern with a candle-end in it." Mankind gained truer notions of it, and of their duty towards those who were afflicted by it;—but St. Francis set the example.

And so the friars worked; and in less than half a century after the founding of the order it numbered thirty-three provinces, containing upwards of eight thousand convents, and, it is said, no less than 200,000 members. The numbers may be exaggerated; but in the following century it is stated that in the dreadful plague of the black death no fewer than 124,000 Franciscans fell victims to their zeal for the care of the sick, and for the spiritual ministration to the dying.

St. Francis set his face against learning. He had seen the results of learned leisure, and would allow his followers none of it; books were forbidden, bare necessities only tolerated, and with a style

of preaching founded on meditation and deep experience, and not obtained from the writings of others, the influence of the Franciscans upon the neglected masses of the population may be imagined. Lessons of patience and endurance fell with greater persuasion and tenderness from the lips of men who were living and voluntary examples of what they taught. Dressed in his coarse robe, with bare head and feet, the friar begged his bread from house to house, and his voluntary poverty removed the scandal under which Christianity was labouring, in consequence of the luxuries and superfluities in which many of its privileged teachers indulged. The rule of poverty of the Franciscan was a consistent one, and one that in England continued to the end. The inventories at the dissolution show that, unlike some of the other orders, no treasure had been laid up on earth.

These things made the Minor Friars very popular, and in all the large towns, striking a real chord of sympathy, they found favour and increased rapidly. Within thirty years after their arrival in England they mustered 1242 members, and had forty-nine convents in different localities. England was divided into seven wardenships. The west country was included in the wardenship of Bristol, and in it were the important houses at Exeter and Bodmin.

There is no reference to Plymouth in the account in the *Monumenta Franciscana*. When the Franciscans first arrived here we do not know, nor do we know when their house was commenced. It is, however, certain that Plymouth, which would not at the time have stood in less need of the services of the friars than other towns, where we find them settled soon after the arrival of Angnellus and his companions, would be passed over. Probably brethren were sent from Exeter or Bodmin into the surrounding country, and some found their way to Plymouth.

The Bodmin house was completed in June, 1239, only fifteen years after the arrival of the friars, and they were established in Exeter in 1240; but it is not until long after this that we have certain evidence of any being at Plymouth.

The two or three who settled down here worked as we find them doing elsewhere, and I think we meet with something with which they were connected in 1374, when we find that a leper's house was erected in Plymouth, as appears by a document dated 30th August, which Bishop Brantyngham patronized, dedicated to

the Trinity and St. Mary Magdalen, which is so like a Franciscan deed that we shall not, I think, be far wrong in assuming that it originated with some brethren then in the town. I must, however, say that I think there is some little doubt as to whether the entry really refers to Plymouth or Plympton.

We find nothing positive until 1384, when the king (Richard II.) granted to certain persons leave to alienate six acres of land in Plymouth to the friars, in the following terms : * “ 1384. 6 Rich. II. The King, greeting. ‘ Know ye that of our special grace we have granted and given license for us and our heirs as much as in us is to William Cole, Thomas Fisher, Geoffrey Couche, and Humphrey Passour, † that they may be able to give and assign six acres of land with the appurtenances in Plymouth which are held of us in chief to the Brethren of the order of Brothers Minor in the town aforesaid to be had for a certain church with a belfry and all other houses buildings and closes whatsoever for divine obsequies there to be exercised, and for the necessary habitation of the same brethren anew to be made and constructed. To have and to hold to the same Brethren and their successors to make and construct a church belfry houses edifices and enclosures aforesaid as it is above mentioned, to pray there for the happy state of us whilst we live and for our soul when we shall depart from this world and for the souls of our progenitors and all the faithful deceased for ever ; And to the same brethren that they the said land with the appurtenances from the aforesaid William Thomas Geoffry and Humphrey may receive and take to the aforesaid Brethren and their successors about to dwell in the town aforesaid to be made and constructed for a church belfry houses buildings and closes aforesaid, and to pray for the estate and souls aforesaid for ever as is before mentioned by tenor of these presents, we in like manner do give special licence ; the statutes for lands and tenements not to be put in mortmain notwithstanding ; being unwilling that the aforesaid William Thomas Geoffrey and Humphrey or their heirs or the aforesaid Brethren or their successors by the reason of the statutes aforesaid or other the premises by us or our heirs our justices estreators sheriffs or other our bailiffs or ministers whatsoever should be impeded molested or in anywise injured. Saving always to us and our heirs the services due and accustomed from the land aforesaid. Witness the King at Westminster the 18th June 1384.’ ”

* Oliver Mon., p. 151.

† The then mayor of Plymouth.

You will notice that the buildings are to be newly made and built, which would imply that this was only an extension, or alteration, or enlargement of former buildings; but further on it would appear that the brethren were only then about to dwell in the town. The only way of reconciling this is, I think, by supposing, that although there were some Franciscans in the town, and working there, and having buildings, yet they were only sojourners, and now, having an opportunity of acquiring land, they were about to make a permanent settlement.

When the church was finished a great difficulty arose. It was necessary to obtain the sanction of the bishop of the diocese both for its erection and consecration. The independent Franciscans, however, took no trouble to procure either; but, without consulting any one, they built their church, and, when it was ready, took the first bishop that came in their way, and asked him to consecrate it. This happened to be one John Berham, a Dominican, who gave himself out to be the Bishop of Naples; but of whose claims to episcopacy the Bishop of Exeter (Brantyngham, the same who patronized the leper's house, and who a few years before had difficulties with the Carmelites) had some doubts, and visited all the parties with his high displeasure. Bishops *were* bishops in those days, and Berham was excommunicated, as well as the Franciscans themselves, and the building was laid under an interdict. This was in the year 1390, and things took some little time getting right again. How long the trouble continued, or how the matter was remedied, we know not. Perhaps you may remember how the Franciscans were persecuted and worried by the older orders in Exeter, and how they were accused of having poisoned Bishop Quivil; and probably this affair was promoted by some of their enemies, who had the bishop's ear.

The friars are not likely to have been much inconvenienced. By this time they had made their way among the people, and having abandoned some of the stricter rules of their great founder, their ministrations were sought, not only as spiritual advisers, but as skilful physicians, they having from their intercourse with the poorer classes found it necessary to devote some attention to the healing of the body, and to other matters pertaining thereto, as well as to those more especially connected with the health of the soul.

Soon after this, in 1402, came the dispute with the vicars of St. Andrew, of which I have already spoken.

Reference is constantly made in the registers of the diocese to the convent of the Gray Friars in Plymouth, but there is, I believe, nothing further of interest to mention in connection with its history. The only clue we have to the exact locality of the establishment is from the map of Henry VIII., and from a few faint traditions.

The house was situated in Woolster Street, as it is now called, and the map appears to indicate that the water was much nearer the street than it is now. The buildings appear to be extensive; the church is very plain, with a low tower. It has been concluded that the two buildings with crosses were the Friary and church; but inasmuch as six acres belonged to the brethren, I am inclined to believe that the whole of the buildings, as shown in the wood-cut on the opposite page, which is an enlarged sketch from the map, belonged to the convent. At the same time, I must confess it is very difficult to assign a use for this extensive range.

We have no further records of the history of the Gray Friars in Plymouth. The place fell, with the other lesser monasteries, in 1536, and came into the hands of the spoiler in anticipation of the act dissolving the smaller houses.

The religious houses were the strongest supporters of the Queen, by which they incurred the King's heavy displeasure. Amongst these the Gray Friars were the most obnoxious. They were constantly about among the people, were generally able preachers, popular, active, and industrious; and as they had the will, so had they power to exercise a considerable influence in the then critical state of affairs. Their very poverty made them independent. They had little or nothing to lose; and as they were the weakest, they were the first to suffer. Possessions they had none, except their houses and adjoining land.*

By deed dated 13th November, 1546, the site of the convent (we may conclude that all that was moveable and valuable had been converted into cash before) was granted to Giles and Gregory Iselham. It is presumed that these were London merchants, many of whom purchased lands belonging to the monasteries, disposing of them subsequently at a profit. The purchasers of the Franciscan land or their representatives sold it afterwards in portions.

A part of the site was used for many years as an inn, one of the most important in Plymouth a hundred years ago or more—the

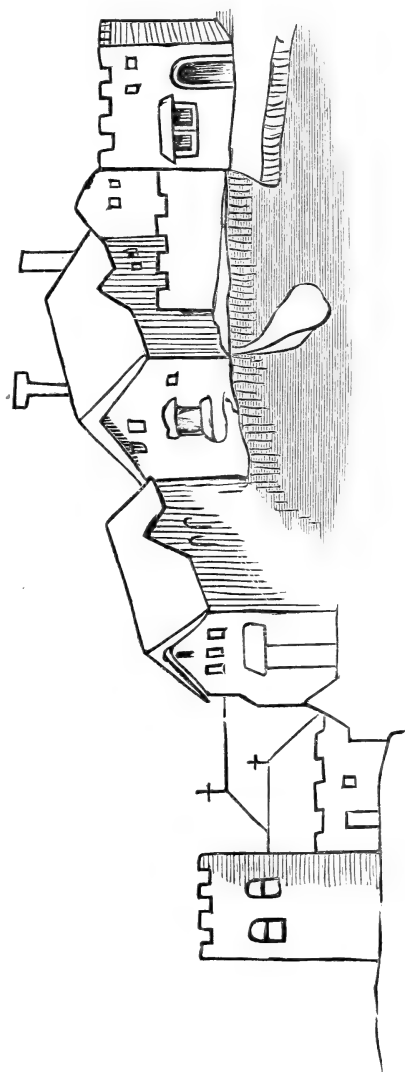
* Maclean's "Bodmin," p. 190.

Mitre. The inn was entered from the street through a low arched doorway, having on the eastern side a cloister, supported by twisted or spiral pillars; at the end of this a staircase led to apartments, Oliver says, formed out of the church, the lower part having been used as cellars for merchandise.*

Unassisted by a new licensing act, the Mitre declined from its high estate, and at the commencement of this century the whole of the building was let out to as many persons as there were rooms. The church of the Franciscans—first a tavern, and then a common lodging house!

Harris says that the building in 1805 extended from Woolster Street into Seven Stars Lane, and the ground, which was square, was almost wholly occupied by buildings. On the north-east there was then an ancient doorway, which is supposed to have led to the garden. The quadrangular court on the inside appears to have been surrounded on three sides by cloisters. The columns were twisted or spiral, and said to be very beautiful; over the colonnade were rooms, and the spaces between the columns had been filled up so as to form other rooms. The fourth side was occupied by the chapel. At the entrance to the chapel were two piers of masonry, built of stone similar to that in the buttresses and quoins at St. Andrew's church, and over were two niches, in which were formerly images. Harris's account of these and other remains is very tantalizing. He says that this, the chapel front, was "a neat, lively front for that style of architecture!" without giving the slightest clue as to what *that* style might be. He says that the chapel was a small building, with an ancient ceiling, and there were cornices all around, on which were shields supported by small human figures, and on the shields were letters and *fleurs-de-lis* alternately. The letters on each shield were different. There was no appearance of an altar. The walls were wainscoted almost to the top, the upper part divided into many compartments, about three feet by one foot six inches each, and there were about thirty such compartments. Below were a number of arches carved out of solid wood. The compartments were filled with panels, on which were paintings representing the sacred story from the first to the second Adam, the figures in quaint costume, and from the mouth of each proceeded a label with an inscription. There were thirty-three of these panels; the last remaining was that containing a figure of John the Baptist.

* "Monasticon," p. 157.



THE CHURCH AND CONVENT OF THE FRANCISCANS.



The next, and originally the last, was painted over, the word Christ only being visible. Harris conjectured that the crucifixion was depicted on this last panel, and that it was destroyed by the Puritans. The first picture—Adam and Eve, as they were in the garden of Eden before the fall—had also been destroyed, the reason given being, that they were not so decent as the others, and were offensive to the Moravians, who appear to have used this chapel for worship early in this century, and perhaps for some time previously.

In 1813 these remains, and the site on which they stood, were purchased by the promoters of the Plymouth Exchange. The materials, with the exception of the stones, were sold in lots. The paintings and woodwork of the chapel were said to have been bought for Mr. Clark, of Buckland-Tout-Saints, it being his intention, as stated at the time, to have them fixed in a chapel at or adjoining his residence.

Although I have made many inquiries after them, especially through a gentleman living at Kingsbridge, who, with his father (who lived at Buckland for some years), have done all in their power to trace them, I am unable to obtain any information as to these panels. No one knows anything about them now, and the conclusion come to is, that they were never brought to Buckland at all, even if Mr. Clark became the purchaser. There is a chapel near the house, but there is nothing to be seen of the panels there.

The merchants completed the destruction began by Henry VIII., and with the erection of the Exchange perished all but very fragmentary remains of the Franciscans in Plymouth. There is an ogee archway and a few other scraps about Woolster Street, but they give no idea of the buildings of which they once formed a part.

By deed dated the 22nd September, 1579 (21 Elizabeth), the Queen granted, in consideration of £1,618 10s., to Edward Grimstone, senr., esq., and Edward Grimstone, junr., among other lands, "All those messuages tofts lands tenements with the appurtenances whatsoever situate in Sutton Prior, Sutton Vautorte, and Sutton-Rauffe, &c., before this time being given to the findinge and maintenance of one chaplaine dailie saying masse at the altar of St John Baptist in the south side of the sd. Church of St Andrew the Apostle of Plymouth to celebrate masse for the soul of John Jaybien and other old and ancient customs in the same Church.

"Also all that parcel of land called Furze Park with the appur-

tenances containing by estimation three acres lying in Plymouth to the Graye Friars of Plymouth sometye appertaining." The Grimstones, by deed dated 10th October, 21 Elizabeth, conveyed all the property comprised in this deed to Henry Payne of London, tailor, and on the 4th December, 23 Elizabeth, Henry Payne conveyed the same (with the exception of one field situated at Lostwithiel) to Peter Edgcumbe of Mount Edgcumbe, Esq., the ancestor of the present Lord Mount Edgcumbe, but none of the Plymouth property can now, I believe, be traced with any certainty.

The Fair Chapel of St. Catherine upon the Hoe, so called by Leland, we know little of, although it is frequently referred to in the registers and elsewhere. In 1370 mention is made of it, and it was old in 1413, when it is spoken of in Bishop Stafford's register. It was probably erected originally as a votive chapel. It was situated, I should think, judging from its position on the map of Henry VIII., somewhere high up upon the Hoe, perhaps near where the eastern iron gates now are. Mr. Worth thinks it stood not far from the head of Hoe Street; but it must have been higher up than this; for Leland says, "There is a right goodly walk on a hill without the town called the How, a fair chapel of St. Catherine *on it*." It possessed a tower, with a little canopied projection, perhaps for a bell, or, it may be, containing a statue of the saint, and the building is enclosed by a wall. It was probably before the Reformation served and attended to by one of the religious houses, perhaps by the vicar of St. Andrew. The former is most probable, as it appears to have been committed to the charge of the town, which, after expending a few pence for a rope and for some nails, as we find from the receiver's books, thought enough had been done, and suffered the structure to go into decay.

Mr. Jewitt mentions that in a curious inventory, the date of which he does not give, is the following entry: "Memorandum, there remaineth in the hands of John Paynter a chalice of St. Catherine received of Pers Lygger."*

More care was apparently taken of the chalice of precious metal than of the building; but both are lost to Plymouth now.

If we know little of the chapel of St. Catherine on the Hoe, we know less of the chapel of St. Michael on the island we now call St. Nicholas or Drake's. It is shown in the map standing on

* Reliquary, 1871, 8.

the island, then unfortified, very conspicuously. It belonged to Plympton Priory. Towards the middle of the sixteenth century it was thought well that the island should be fortified, and the privy council called upon the mayor of Plymouth to do what was necessary. Whether the mayor and his brethren thought that the king might fitly expend some of the proceeds of the spoil of the great Devonshire monasteries in the defence of the coast, or whether not so thinking, from those motives of economy which distinguished municipal bodies in past centuries, and which distinguish some now, history sayeth not; but the request was not complied with, and on the 28th March, 1548, a letter was written, marvelling of "their unwillingness to proceed in the fortifying of St. Michael's chapel, to be made a bulwarke; and when they allege the plucking down of that chapelle to the foundation, they were answered, the same being made up again with a wall of turf, should neither be of less effect or strength, nor yet of such great cost as they intended; and therefore eftsoons the lords desired them, like good subjects, to go in hand with that work accordingly as they might thereby be esteemed, that they tender to the king's majestie's pleasure, and their owne surety, and defence chiefest."

It will be thus seen, that although the mayor and his brethren made haste to demolish, they were in no hurry to build; but the considerations thus laid before them had, we may suppose, their due weight; and the island of St. Michael, called afterwards St. Nicholas, and later still, by the name of one who, though not canonized by the Church, will live in the hearts of all Englishmen; as old Fuller says, "a religious man towards God and His houses, generally sparing churches where he came, chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true to his word, and merciful to those who were under him," was fortified as wished by the king and his council.

In almost every town which had a religious foundation, or was connected with a religious house, a cross was set up in the market-place, in the neighbourhood of which provisions were sold and bought. As crosses were in every place designed to check a worldly spirit, the market cross was intended to inculcate upright intentions, and fairness of dealing. There appear to have been three crosses in Plymouth. The first—the market cross—which was in Old Town Street, about fifteen yards south of Butcher's Lane, now Treville Street. It is shown in the map so often referred to. In 1310, in the third year of Edward the II., there were

disputes between the Prior of Plympton and the burgesses of Sutton relating to the market cross and the stalls in the market-place. These disputes were amicably settled by a deed executed by the parties. In 1566, in the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign, we find the entry: "Item paid for mending the leads of the market cross, 14/." How many years later it stood it is impossible to say; but crosses, like many other things, have to give place to modern requirements, and the market cross, being in the centre of a thoroughfare, was removed, and not set up elsewhere.

Another cross was on the Hoe, west of St. Catherine's chapel. We know nothing of it. It might have been a memorial cross. Comparing it with the market cross, it seems to have been a much more elaborate one, and apparently in better condition. Perhaps at the time it was of recent erection.

The third cross was on the Parade, near the Custom House; but I have unfortunately mislaid my notes with reference to it. It seems to have possessed a right of Sanctuary; and it is said that a round stone, forming a part of it, was to be seen of comparatively late years.

Although not necessarily connected with religion, I must not omit to say something, however little, about one or two of the wells of Plymouth, inasmuch as they were connected with the ecclesiastical portions of the town. Before the passing of the Act of Elizabeth, and the water supply to the conduits, the only water obtained was from wells, and the names of several are still preserved.

St. Andrew's Well is supposed to have been situated on the road to Cattedown, the old ferry-road. It is stated to have had a great reputation, and was much resorted to by devotees, who sought the protection and assistance of the patron saint. A venerable fig-tree overshadowed it, and a hundred years ago the stump and roots were still to be seen.*

In the Exeter registers is a petition from one David Waryn, who describes himself as the hermit of the chapel of our Lady of Grace, at Quarry Well, Plymouth, dated 10th April, 1518. By the deed I have before referred to, of 22nd September, 1579, the Queen granted to the Grimstones, senr. and junr., besides the lands I have before mentioned and others, "all that messuage or tenement and barne called the Hermytage of our Ladie at Quarry Well, and all those two acres of land to the same messuage or tenement

* Harris.

belonging situate in the town of Plymouth late to the monastarie of Plympton belonging." These are the only references to such a place that I am aware of. I am not certain that I know where the Hermytage was situated. Quarry Well may be the same as Lady Well, but I do not think it was. The latter was near the end house close to Gascoigne Place, at the foot of Ladywell Place.

I have also a note to the following effect:—"Plymouth hath four wells—Jacob's Well in Southside Street, St. Andrew's Well, the well on the road leading to Cattedown, and Maudlin Well;" but I can give no further account of them. This note seems to imply that St. Andrew's Well was not the same as that on the road to Cattedown; but at present I cannot reconcile the discrepancy.

I have now, in conclusion, to speak of some buildings of old Plymouth undoubtedly connected with the church, but with reference to which there are differences of opinion as to their uses, locality, or otherwise.

Of all the remains of old Plymouth, St. Andrew's church excepted, none is so perfect as its neighbour, the so-called Abbey. I will not weary you with repeating all the conjectures that have been made as to its origin. I cannot help thinking with most other persons, that it was in some way connected with St. Andrew's; but there is not the slightest clue, and any opinion is the purest speculation, and I have nothing new to say.

There were other buildings around St. Andrew's church, both north-east and west of it; but their history is lost, and the purposes for which they were used can be only speculated upon.

Leland speaks of a house on the north side of the church-yard of Plymouth parish church; and up to the middle of the last century, there was a granite-built house in Frankfort Place, now Bedford Street. It was a quadrangular building, with a large central court, two stories high, and a porch similar, it is said, to that of the north porch of St. Andrew's church, but with seats around it. Tradition connects this with the Cistercians, and it may have belonged to them, the monks at Buckland apparently having been in some way mixed up with Plymouth as well as with Stonehouse.

But this house must not, I think, be confounded with the other of which Leland speaks when he says that "there is an hospital-house on the north side of the church." This was, I believe, in

the churchyard, and is the house referred to in the following entry under date 1561, 3 Elizabeth—"Item for taking down the house in the churchyarde, and for clensing the same, 6s. 8d."

The hospital for lepers was situated out of the town, away from the bulk of the population, and was at the north end of the town; for where we find land called the Maudlin or the Maudlin ground, it is, I believe, never failing evidence of the existence of a leper or similar hospital in the locality.

Although there are no remains of buildings now, there can be little question but that the old house, known as the Turk's Head, was connected with St. Andrew's church. The vicarage gardens were here, and they, or the churchyard, or both, extended far down Whimble Street. Portions certainly belonged to the churchyard, for human bones have been found in the gardens behind Whimble Street and St. Andrew's Place, during excavations for the foundations of houses there. The whole of the land on what is now the south side of Whimble Street belonged to the vicars of St. Andrew, and was up to the time of the sale, to be mentioned presently, described sometimes as the gardens, and sometimes as the glebe. It is said that at first stalls were placed against the wall bounding the gardens, glebe, or churchyard, on the north, and encroachments on the yard itself soon followed, which not being checked a right was gained, and thus the southern side of Whimble Street was formed. By and by houses were built on the land occupied by the stalls, and soon the tenants, requiring more room in the rear, obtained leases for long terms of years from the vicars, and this continued up to a comparatively recent period. The vicar of St. Andrew sold some forty years ago to the Corporation, I believe, the whole of what was left.

I think I have now referred (no one knows better than I do myself how imperfectly) to all the various matters which can be traced as having been directly connected with the religious history of old Plymouth. I believe that all the other ancient buildings were used for secular purposes.

I could have said much more with regard to the guilds, the almshouses, the various charitable foundations, and other matters connected with the religious history of the town, as well before the Reformation as after. I also wished to have referred to the churches of Stonehouse, St. Budeaux, and Pennycross, more particularly than I have been able to do; but the paper is already

too long, and what I have left unsaid may perhaps furnish material for another.

And now a last few words to remind you how much Plymouth lost by the dissolution of the religious houses. We find no complaints whatever against the religious connected with them; yet the churches and buildings were ruthlessly swept away. Plymouth, which had four churches, was left with one only, no honest, earnest endeavour, so far as we know, having been made to preserve either of the others, although the population was certainly not less than before.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not saying one word, nor do I wish to say one word, against the reformation of religion; a reformation urgently needed, however much we may disapprove of the way in which it was carried out. But this is a very different matter from the shameless robbery that took place. Not robbery from the monks and friars (for they might be considered only as trustees, however abominably they were treated in many cases), but robbery from the people, for they were the sufferers. The proceeds arising from the sale of monasteries and other property went, not for public purposes, but mainly for the enrichment of individuals, and the personal aggrandisement of the King and his courtiers.

I recollect very well it being said in this hall by one whom we are all delighted to hear, that he had never seen, and never would go near the ruins of an abbey or monastery, and that his heart was filled with sorrow when he reflected on what England had lost by the destruction of the religious houses. The evidence that is now forthcoming throws a much clearer light upon the events that then took place.

It cannot be denied that the monastic system had had its day, and had ceased to fulfil its mission. The time for reformation had come; but slaughter, pillage, rapacity, and wanton destruction, were no remedies for sin, weakness, or failing.

“Such things were not of the spirit of reformation.”

ILLUSTRATIONS OF METHOD.

ABSTRACT OF DR. WILLIAM H. PEARSE'S PAPER.

(Read November 14th, 1872.)

METHOD is the way of the mind in knowledge, truth, and joy. True method harmonizes knowledge, and gives to facts life and meaning. It is an ever-expanding way, a "unity with progression," an ever-seeing the relations of things.

Plato's great aim was to "develop the art of method, to remove the obstacles, the continuance of which is preclusive of all truth to educate the intellect." (Coleridge.)

Sketch of man's present state in reference to method: social crimes, vices, and wars, are as rife as ever. Disease, except in a few splendid instances, is uninfluenced for good, and untouched by medical art. The cultivated castes of the East view with wonder the controversies and customs of the West. The millions of Europe and America, having attained liberty and knowledge, have now advanced beyond the mental range of those who hold the position of leaders of thought. In the midst of such disaster, we rest in a false confidence, a temporary condition of danger, resulting not a little from a literature and press devoted much to the passing interests, and even passions of the hour, occupying the place of earnest thought and knowledge.

These views of the present urgent need of true method are not stated to shake hope and faith, but to lessen false confidence.

Lord Bacon says, "There is no danger in the proportion or quantity of knowledge, if it be taken in charity; that spirit of charity which maketh knowledge so sovereign."

Certain mental states and practices have proved hindrances to knowledge—*e.g.*, the vice and habit of assertion; the haste of assigning what are but antecedent parts of series as potential "causes" of phenomena; the binding and limiting influence of words; the creation into entities of what are but parts of series; the practice of definition. Instances of these hindrances were

given from the physical sciences, from medicine, and from natural history.

The progressive side of knowledge was illustrated under some general propositions. First, truth and knowledge are easy and natural to man. Young minds love truth; any single fact in nature, once felt, becomes a light and method to all other knowledge—*e.g.*, such facts as those of the definite proportions of Dalton, the oneness and harmony of terrestrial and celestial movement, the uniform rates of geological changes, &c., place the mind in “relation of circumstance” for other truths. Bacon hath it, “The mind of man, by nature, knoweth all things;” Harvey saw that the valves must be part of a system of circulating fluid; Bell saw that two “affections”—motion and sensation—must have relation to the two series of nerves issuing out of the spinal cord; Snow Harris made his ships continuous conductors; Lyell submitted to see the sufficiency of present rates and powers for all geological changes; Jenner saw that the human system had capacity to take on certain changes once only, and gave vaccination to man; Whewell confesses that the first law of motion “might have been known to be true independently of experience.” Many great truths and modern generalizations are due more to a right spirit of method than to experience—*e.g.*, the theories of Dalton, Darwin, Lyell; the discoveries of Pascal, Franklin; the ideas of Goodsir, Virchow, &c.

History shows method to have different stages. First, we seek causes, then laws, and later we submit to see relations, series, and uniform rates. In earlier method we see the differences only of phenomena; in later, the oneness and alliances. Thus the idea of evolution has displaced the bad doctrine of catastrophetic phenomena and of specific differences. We now feel on an *a priori* method, that from the nebular condensation, down to the appearance of life in individual beings, all “forms” are but continued and latent affections, and of one great series of evolution; the form of a drop of water has the same law as that of the spheres; the highest animal and vegetable forms are of the same series as a simple cell; languages most different are of one stock and series; the student as surely feels a necessitous order and series in the study of languages, forms of society and government, as he does in purely physical phenomena. The previous series of living forms, and the present variety, are parts of still progressing evolution. There is no escape from the idea, that life and living forms are

affections of existence. If some minds fear the full idea of evolution, let them remember that only lately we reached the idea that heat, light, force, motion, &c., were but correlatable "affections." "Nothing ever returns, nor can return, to a state of existence identical with a previous state." (Grove.)

A second proposition is, that ideas are the great method of our knowledge. An idea is a perception of generality, a "bond of unity, a light which illumines the dark mass of detail." (Coleridge.) The ideas of form and numbers evolved early in man's history; architecture, geometry, astronomy, were so far perfect sciences many centuries before man felt general truths in languages, in the affections of matter, in natural history, &c. After the ideas of these elementary sciences had evolved, progress came in other physical aspects of existence—chemistry, electricity, &c.; their ideas became more easy to us in natural history (W. Smith, Hutton, St. Hilaire, Schwann, Goethe, Darwin); after this came generalization and ideas on languages (F. Von Schlegel); and on society and government (Adam Smith, Buckle). The historical order of the evolution has been a necessitous one. Kepler's laws came from his idea, that a relation of times and distance must exist; Newton had the idea of the oneness of the order of all motion; Franklin had the idea of the oneness of electrical phenomena; Faraday's idea was that polarity must exist in every part of the circuit, and he rejected the two poles. Since then the idea has evolved in us that heat, magnetism, light, motion, are correlated "affections;" the emissive and undulatory theories of light have passed away, and the wider idea and generalization, that light is an affection of an existence in space, seems like an *à priori* truth. The science of crystallography is framed on a few leading ideas; botany is a shapeless mass, without the ideas of Schwann, Goethe, Jussieu, and the natural system. The great impulse which Pascal and Lavoisier gave to knowledge was due to their two respective ideas. Virchow has lately illumined much darkness by his idea, that a "physiological type must exist for every pathological formation."

These instances show that *great* advances in knowledge are chiefly the result of ideas.

The idea of the alliances and oneness of phenomena takes the place of the assertive period of definition and specific differences, *e.g.*, heat, light, electricity, motion, &c., are correlatable; the animal and vegetable kingdoms are but series of allied forms; the word

“specific,” as applied to animal, vegetable, or diseased structures, or symptoms, has ceased to have its old meaning. The great periods and slow rates of evolution and change must be ever present to our minds. The lines or order of evolution “overlap;” forms of being evolve, arise, culminate, and disappear. This is traceable, not only in animal and vegetable forms, but also in languages, types of disease, institutions, &c.

In making ideas the great method of knowledge, other ways are not disparaged; yet there is great danger in this age, lest thought be choked by the growth of masses of incongruous facts. Science must incorporate the spirit of poetry. (Buckle.)

The method of classification of instances (F. Bacon) was referred to, and the method of analogy. Analogy is our greatest hope and power. By analogy we recognize the ever, to us, expanding series of alliances in nature. The expectation of remedies in medical art is mainly from analogy. Having attained to a general truth on any aspect of nature, we almost *à priori* know truth on other sides by the method of analogy—*e.g.*, the great periods of geology made easy to us those of the evolution of language. The correlation of the varied physical “affections” leads us to expect and to see that many diseased phenomena (fevers, cholera, &c.) must very much also be “affections” in true partship with man’s composition, latent generally, but showing naturally in certain states of relation.

To apply the light of some modern generalizations to a view of cholera. Cholera is not an entity or distinct existence; it is a deviation of the system’s rates; the normal rates necessarily prevail, but a cumulated capacity for change is reached. Then, certain depressions or changes happening, the series of fevers, including cholera, show. The body has throughout its life a nearness toward, or tendency to, the general type of deviation known as the class of fevers, more existent in earlier years than as age advances. The whole series of infantile, adult, tropical, and extra tropical fevers, are one great allied “form.”

In an early stage of development the mind saw “causes” of cholera in any associated external circumstance, such as air, water, soil, low level, electrical states, ozonic, heat, river courses, direction of wind, paths of human transit, food, vegetables, fruits, gases, miasmas, poisons, germs, &c., &c. Howsoever important, all such are minor directions—are seeking “the greater in the lesser world.” Cholera has a wider base; the change into cholera is the result of

an absence of the full co-ordination of man's composition and relations. Many depressions are the occasion of the system's passage into cholera—*e.g.*, a common seidlitz, a night's debauch, a night exposure, an unaccustomed fatigue, a change of diet or water, a change from the warmth of Bengal to the tonic sea clime, &c. The non-specific character of cholera seen in that many so-called different diseases show at times a choleraic type—*e.g.*, bronchitis, fever, &c.

The general and wide relations of cholera are seen in its broad characters; the intervals of freedom and recurrence; the phenomena has a definite proportion to the population; a definite curve of rise, culmination, and subsidence; a definite mortality in different stages of the outbreak. Such characters class cholera with physical and other culminations, recurrences, and affections, or phenomena of matter, and indicate profound partship with the entirety of man's relations with and of existences. The direction of remedy is to correlate his system's composition, that thus the conserving power is sustained. Vaccination, iodine, arsenic, bromine, quinine, seasoning fevers, length of tropical residence, have severally effected this co-ordination against many diseased changes; a change from the East to the West Indies has very much removed the East Indian's tendency to cholera. A batch of East Indian emigrants will show cholera on experiencing the first shock of the change to the sea; but soon cases cease; the change to the sea has been preventive.

To treat the symptoms is but to attack *débris*; nay, it is worse than useless.

May we hope that in the future we shall cease to assert on and believe in the value of vain treatments; but a sneering scepticism is as foolish as the blind confidence of ignorance.

Are we not sure that the great modern generalizations and ideas in geological periods and rates, in linguistic evolution, in the correlation of forces, &c., &c., will soon influence our method of viewing cholera and disease, and that the method of analogy will light us on the path of prevention.

PHASES OF HISTORY.

ABSTRACT OF MR. R. N. WORTH'S PAPER.

(Read November 21st, 1872.)

PREMISING that he did not intend to allude, except incidentally, to any historical fact, but that his object was to consider some of the phases through which what they called history had passed, Mr. Worth said that at bottom the various branches of his subject resolved themselves into two—recorded history and unrecorded. By this he did not mean written and unwritten. Unrecorded history was generally regarded as rather the material of history than history itself. Yet here and there an interpreter arose to whom its language was familiar, and in truth it was but a difference in language after all. Whatsoever perpetuated the memory of the past was really history, by whatever name it might be called. Thus, from the creation downwards, every age was included in its domain, and little tinkling rills of tradition flowed towards man from a period so remote that national life was but a thing of yesterday in comparison, whilst their primal sources were for ever removed from human ken. History was a record chiefly of the dealings of man with man. It treated of man's outer life, and concerned itself with nature only so far as nature was connected with action.

Recorded history commenced everywhere with the marvellous. The facts were not seen face to face, but through the distorting media of uncultured minds. The distant and the obscure were always wonderful, and from the childhood of the individual they learnt to understand the childhood of the race. In both they saw a strong faith combined with a weak judgment. All that was beyond his faculties the savage attributed to powers superior to himself. All the causes with which he was acquainted were personal; to persons therefore he ascribed those causes which he only knew by their results. The bearing of this upon traditional and legendary history was obvious. Moreover, men in all ages were prone to exalt their belongings and surroundings; and one of the most universal beliefs of the world was the belief in the

"good old times." The barrenness of the present was always apparent, that of the past was forgotten, and its incidents forced themselves into unreal prominence. Were traditions or legends based solely upon fact, knowing thus the process of their growth, it might be hoped by analysis to reduce their fiction to a minimum. Not only, however, did ancient man dress up his scraps of history in these fantastic garbs; he attired therein his poetical fancies; and the dreams of one age, hardening into a definiteness never intended, became the historical creeds of the next.

The transition from tradition to record was simple, but took place in many ways. Written history might broadly be classified under three heads—the chronicling, the pictorial, and the philosophic. The first gave the bare facts; the second the facts in an agreeable dress; the third superadded the consideration of motive and consequence. But it must be borne in mind that the historian could only introduce his readers to that which he saw himself. Moreover, when full allowance had been made for errors, there remained the fact that historians were of necessity fallible beyond almost every other class of writers. The lecturer had a great respect for the old chroniclers, and thought the absence of the critical faculty in them one of their greatest merits. They had preserved all that they came across for people who were better able to winnow the chaff from the wheat.

As the critical, which in this sense was identical with the sceptical, spirit came in, chronicling in its representative character went out, though the race of Dryasdusts would never cease in the land. Shakspeare was England's first really good historical writer. In pictorial power he had never been equalled, and the bulk of the English people believed rather in his dramatic creations than in the actual historical personages whose names they bore. Now-a-days the historical novel supplied the place of the drama. Philosophical history was necessarily a plant of slow growth. Raleigh was the first English historian of this class. But, whether as pictorialists or philosophers, the English-writing historians of the present day were quite the best the world had ever seen.

Unrecorded history lay hid where their fathers never thought of looking for it. Men now read history in the material vestiges of human existence which every race had left; in habits and in customs; in physical and mental characteristics; scored indelibly in the solid earth; vital in inherited forms, ceremonies, tastes, and

proclivities. Pre-historic archæology revealed primitive man little removed above the brute in physical needs or in intelligence, yet evidencing, in his treatment of his dead, the germs of feelings, hopes, and fears, which carried with them the promise of great things beyond. No deed was ever lost, and the world not more surely bore the impress of the geologic changes through which it had passed than it did the traces of human action. The earliest races of man had left little but their graves; but these, rightly considered, were wells of the fullest and the truest information concerning the characteristics, mental and moral, of their silent tenants, and the physical nature of their surroundings. As they descended the stream of time, the materials of the unrecorded history of man rapidly increased. They found not only graves but dwellings; and, oddest feature of all, turned scavengers and ransacked the refuse heaps hard by. There was not much poetry about a dust-bin; but it was astonishing what a halo of romance surrounded a kitchen midden. And, taking a leap over many centuries, they had an unsystematized history of England in the English common speech; and that even was a mere dead letter compared with those suggestive relics of the past—customs, outworn creeds, obsolete superstitions—which had yet a kind of dubious or unrecognized existence, and some of which had been so aptly termed “survivals.” Wonderful was the vitality which attached to almost everything that any considerable body of mankind had agreed to think or do.

After quoting a number of striking instances of “survivals,” current in every day life, the lecturer concluded by saying that his motive had been twofold. First, that, by an elucidation of the nature and progress of history, he might inculcate the necessity for something like independence of thought in consulting their historians. Second, that by pointing out how the materials of the most vital history of the past were not merely found in musty muniment rooms, in chaotic archives, among dusty parchments, but lay scattered on every hand,—he might direct attention to the suggestiveness of common things. History was everywhere; and nothing could be really unimportant or uninteresting that had once been important or interesting to any portion of the human race. And he laid the more stress upon this because there was a danger in these days of rightful devotion to science, lest, in contemplating the great world of nature, they might be all too regardless of the little world of humanity.

MARCO POLO.

ABSTRACT OF MR. W. BEER'S PAPER.

(Read November 28th, 1872.)

MARCO POLO was born in Venice in 1253. The first Polo known to history is Andrea Marco's grandfather. Andrea had three sons—Marco, the elder, Nicolo, and Maffeo. They were all engaged in commerce with the East. In 1260 we hear of Nicolo and Maffeo at Constantinople. Thence chance carried them to Cambaluc—now Pekin—the seat of Kublai Khan. They returned to Venice. Nicolo found his wife dead, and his son Marco fifteen years old. After three years the three—Nicolo, Maffeo, and Marco—set out to return to Cambaluc. It is the history of this overland journey which gives so great an interest to Marco's travels. The Khan was pleased with Marco and gave him employment, which carried him into many strange districts—amongst others, to Yunnan, the country of the Panthays, who have lately sent an embassy to England. The object of the new route by the Irrawaddy to Bhamo is to reach this populous district. After seventeen years a fortunate chance enabled the Polos to return by sea. In 1299 Marco was taken prisoner in a sea fight with the Genoese. During his imprisonment at Genoa, Rustician, of Pisa, compiled the "Travels of Ser Marco Polo," from the dictation of the illustrious traveller. Marco seems to have been released the same year. Of his married life we know nothing. He died in January, 1324. His work was a link in the providential chain which led Columbus to the discovery of the new world. To quote Colonel Yale, his true claims to honour are—he was the first traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, describing the deserts of Persia, the wild gorges of Badakshan, the jade-bearing rivers of Khokan, and the Mongolian Steppes; to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness; to tell us of Tibet, Burma, Laos, Siam, Cochin China, and Japan; to speak of Java, of Sumatra, of Ceylon, and of India the Great, not as a dreamland of Alexandrian fables, but as a country seen and partially explored.

WAY-MARKS OF CIVILIZATION.

ABSTRACT OF MR. FRECKELTON'S PAPER.

(Read December 5th, 1872.)

ALL true advance of knowledge is made by way of proceeding from the known to the unknown, and depends largely upon the method of analogy, which assumes that there is an unbroken continuity in Nature and Life, by virtue of which things upon different planes resemble each other—the lower suggesting the existence of the higher, while the higher fully interprets the lower, and suggests something higher still. Instances of the law given from the different sciences—geology, palæontology, biology, philology. The same rule and method apply to the investigation of pre-historic archæology and the history of civilization, which seek in surviving manners and customs, laws, ceremonies, and superstitions, and in the manners and customs of existing savage peoples, for indications of the primeval condition of man and the course of civilization.

No part of the question of this paper to enter into the dispute of the origin and general theory of civilization; but to look at facts.

Modes of intercommunication. Gesticulation as a language, or an aid to expression, prominent in children and partially educated people. The acted drama, opera, ballet, and pantomime. Deaf mutes, and their modes of communication: the universality and naturalness of many of their simple signs. The use of the same signs by savages and persons who do not understand each other's dialects. The number of such natural signs known to be more than 5,000; constituting a language of themselves; capable of expressing almost all ideas and emotions. Intonation, as an aid to speech, very expressive, often completely reversing the meaning of words. Was there ever a dumb race of men? traditions on the subject. Different theories of the origin of language. What was the original tongue? test experiments. Imitative root-forms of language: numerical signs, and many words connected with arithmetical processes, still show the naturalness of their origin.

Other words still in use point to a distinct state of society to the present.

Picture writing. Egyptian, Mexican, North American Indian. The Guipos and Wampum belt. Modern analogues of them.

The curious practice of the *Couvade*. Its wide distribution. Relics of it even in England. Customs at birth. Consecration of the newly-born child. Rites of manhood, coming of age, assumption of the "manly toga." Savage rites of the same class.

Curious customs of courtship. Betrothal and marriage. Cases of survival in these times. The "father" at the wedding. The "best man." The "bridecake." "Flinging the shoe." "The honeymoon." Marriage by capture. Marriage by purchase. Marriage by fascination. Origin of marriage. Customs of different countries and times.

Family relationships. Laws of descent and inheritance. Adoption. Property in wives, children, and slaves.

Naming of children. Ceremonies connected therewith. Tribal names. Family names. Totems and totemism.

Survivals of barbarism in fashions of dress and personal ornamentation. Tattooing, painting, &c. Personal distortion of the feet, waist, head, lips, and ears.

Survivals in cookery, medicine, the domestic arts. Religious rites and customs, as sacrifice, fasting, ablution, orientation in religious buildings and worship. Relics of sun worship. Narcotism as a religious rite. Origin of smoking.

Mythology, its origin and laws of development. Fairy tales and nursery stories, many of them broken-down religious myths, mostly connected with the sun.

Witchcraft and demonology. General doctrine of animism. Confusion of personality and identity. Hero worship and priestcraft.

Some isolated and miscellaneous customs.

Bibliography of the subject. Tylor's "Early History of Mankind." Tylor's "History of Primitive Culture." McLennan's "Primitive Marriage." Maine's "Ancient Law." Wilson's "Prehistoric Man." Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization." Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times." Jeaffreson's "Brides and Bridals." Wood's "Natural History of Man." "Anthropological Society's Transactions."

DARWIN'S THEORY OF NATURAL SELECTION.

ABSTRACT OF REV. C. CROFT'S PAPER,

(Read December 12th, 1872.)

THE Lecturer referred to the views which were generally accepted before Mr. Darwin's theory was given to the public, and to the modification which they underwent in consequence of geology bringing to light former assemblages of life. Mr. Darwin taught that species are not produced by distinct creative acts, but by the modification of other species under favourable circumstances. Minute differences, so trifling as to be almost undiscoverable to the unpractised eye, are continually occurring in all species. Amidst hundreds of these slight divergencies, one or two might chance to give the animal or plant some advantage in the great struggle for existence, and thereby insure its survival, and the perpetuation of its accidental peculiarity, probably in an intensified form. This divergence from the parent type would at length amount to a variety—then to a species—then possibly would give rise to a new genus. Quicker powers of motion, stronger or longer weapons for seizing prey, or more inconspicuous colouring, might be advantageous circumstances, insuring the survival of their possessors when less favoured forms would become extinct. The same tendency which permitted the formation of varieties would also permit the formation of species and genera, unless there were some mysterious limits beyond which divergence could not be carried. Lamarck's theory took into account the formative power of external conditions, which in his opinion gave rise to continued improvement and advance in organization; but as low forms of life are now, as heretofore, in existence, he was compelled to account for them by the continued creation of "monads."

The lecturer now mentioned some of the arguments by which the theory of natural selection is usually supported. (1) There was no special fitness in the forms inhabiting any district, to the conditions in which they were placed, as shown by the fact that they are frequently supplanted by other forms artificially intro-

duced by man. (2) The existence of barriers either on land or in sea will separate between very distinct forms of life; but where these barriers are incomplete or of recent origin the separation of species is less marked. The existence of apparent exceptions to this rule might be accounted for by former conditions as, *e.g.*, the prevalence of extreme cold during the post-pleiocene glacial epoch. (3) Again, as highly divergent forms are most likely to survive, we should naturally expect to find that the common progenitor occupies an intermediate position. Geological discoveries very frequently supply these intermediate forms, and so far strengthen the theory. (4) Upon Mr. Darwin's supposition, extinct species or genera will never reappear. Geology shows that this is actually the case. (5) Species in a particular area closely resemble extinct species in the same area. (6) The theory is helped by the phenomena of variation under domestication, and the obvious plasticity of their organization which tends to further variation. (7) The similarity of embryonic forms in widely separated species and genera tells in the same direction. (8) As does also the existence of abortive or rudimentary organs.

Some of the commoner objections to the theory were then touched upon, as for example:—(1) The absence of innumerable intermediate forms in nature, or in the records of the past. Their absence now is explained by the very supposition of the theory; their absence in the past by the extreme imperfection of the geological record. (2) The impossibility of developing extremely perfect organs, as the eye, has been insisted on as fatal. But examples of these organs can be pointed out in every stage, from the most simple to the most complex. (3) The formation on modification of instincts, implied by this theory, has been regarded as an impossibility. But instincts are modified under domestication, and, if it be true that instincts are "inherited habits," they may be modified as well as organs. (4) The phenomena connected with the fertility and sterility of mongrels and hybrids, though very complex, disclose no essential distinction between a species and a variety.

The lecturer, in conclusion, stated his belief that Mr. Darwin's theory must at least receive a provisional acceptance from scientific men, as it explained conflicting facts more completely than any other view. Possibly Mr. Darwin had not given sufficient weight to the modifying power of external conditions, and had laid too

much emphasis on the canon that *natura non agit per saltum*. The theory threw little or no additional light on the relation of man's physical structure to that of the lower animals. Recent discoveries respecting the greater antiquity of man were open to much scientific doubt, and required much further investigation before being finally received; and those discoveries had entirely failed to reveal any intermediate shades of cerebral structure, connecting man with the inferior creatures.

THE "MYSTERY" OF THE "PASSION," AT AMMERGAU AND IN CORNWALL.

ABSTRACT OF THE REV. DR. BANNISTER'S PAPER.

(Read January 16th, 1873.)

THE Doctor began by giving the history of the *religious plays*, called "Mysteries," from their treating on and expounding the mysteries of the Christian religion, and also "Miracle Plays," from the number of miracles the principal *dramatis personæ* are represented as performing. He traced them to the early ages of Christianity, when an attempt was made to supply the place of the heathen classics of antiquity, prohibited alike by the doctors of the Church and the Emperor Julian the Apostate, by a Christian literature. Gregory of Nazianzen, in the fourth century, wrote several mysteries. His mystery of "The Passion" has alone survived, and is the oldest extant.

After treating on the mediæval mysteries, more particularly the English ones—those of Coventry, Chester, &c., commonly performed in the open air—he proceeded to the consideration of the ancient mysteries of Cornwall, especially that of "The Passion," and the modern mystery at Ammergau, which originated in the 17th century, his principal object being to draw from the well-known representation of the latter some additional light on the representation of the Cornish mysteries, about which little is known. He said—

The Cornish mysteries, written in the old Celtic vernacular of Cornwall, with a considerable intermixture of English words,

subjected to Celtic usage,¹ and of French and Latin phrases,² are five in number. One is founded on legendary story, the others on Bible history. The existence of the first was not known till four years ago, when the manuscript containing it was found among the Welsh manuscripts at Peniarth, in Wales. It is called "Beunans Meriasek," the Life of S. Meriasek,³ a Breton bishop, who visits Cornwall, makes a spring rise from the ground, performs several other miracles at Camborne, and founds a chapel there. Of the Bible mysteries, two are founded on the Old Testament story, and two on the New. One of the former, "Gwreans an Bys,"⁴ the Creation of the World, is dated 1611; the other, "Ordinale de Origine Mundi,"⁵ the Origin of the World, written about two centuries earlier, carrying the Bible story from the six days' work of the creation to the completion of Solomon's temple. The more

¹ Thus *mone* = *eng.* "money," when grammatical position requires the change of initial *m* to its aspirate, becomes *vone*, "Passion, 486;" *prys*, "price," *brys*, "Ibid. 132." "To wander" is rendered literally *the wandrè*, *e* final vocal being one of the signs of the infinitive mood in old Cornish, and, in the modern provincial dialect, many nouns are turned into verbs by adding *y* = final *e*; thus there is *faggoty*, "to bind sticks in bundles or faggots."

² Thus, when a lame man asks to be healed, Jesus says

"me agas saw yn lowen
in nomine patris et filii
et spiritus sancti amen
transite a me sani."

That is, in Cornish, "I cure you gladly;" and then in Latin, in the regular Church formulary, "in the name of the father and of the son and of the holy ghost amen go from me healed." No points are used in the MS., and very few capital letters.

³ This mystery was edited and translated by Mr. Whitley Stokes, and published by the Philological Society in 1872. The MS. ends, "Finitur per Dominum Hadton, anno domini mccccxiii."

⁴ The original MS. is in the Bodleian Library. Mr. Davies Gilbert published this with an old translation by Mr. Keigwyn. A more correct copy of the text with an improved translation by Mr. Whitley Stokes, was published by the Philological Society in 1864. The MS. ends with the following note: "Heare endeth the Creacon of the worlde wth Noyes flude, wryten by William Jordan, the xiith of August, 1611."

⁵ This is one of three mysteries published by Mr. Norris in 1859, with the title, "The Ancient Cornish Drama;" the other two are the "Passio Domini nostri Jhesu Christi," and the "Ordinale de Resurrexione Domini nostri Jhesu Christi." The stage directions are in Latin. The original MS. is in the Bodleian Library.

recent play has borrowed whole sentences from this, and has many more English words and idioms. At the close of each of these plays there is an epilogue calling on the pipers to strike up that they may dance, and asking the people to come the next day to see the representation of "The Passion." This and the "Resurrection" are the two mysteries founded on the New Testament, and are arranged to be represented on the two days succeeding that on which one of the Old Testament mysteries was represented. They are of the same date as the "Origin." In the Ammergau play the Old Testament supplies a number of characters and events represented in *tableaux vivants*, typical of circumstances in the life of Christ, which are introduced at the opening of each scene, and are explained *in recitativo* by the chorus. The chorus and *tableaux vivants* have no place in the Cornish mysteries.⁶

In the Ammergau mystery the Bible narrative is strictly adhered to, no traditionary stories are admitted, and even in the *tableaux vivants* the only reference to the Apocrypha is to Tobit and his dog. In the Cornish mysteries much of legendary story is introduced, for the most part taken from the Apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus, from which also the names of the two crucified thieves, Dysmas and Jesmas, are taken.

The Cornish mystery of "The Passion" opens abruptly with a long address of Christ to his disciples. According to the stage direction, he stands on mount Quarentana, near Jordan, and looks between Jericho and Jerusalem; after this comes the temptation; then the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and the expulsion of the traders from the temple, which, as in the Ammergau play, is a good deal emphasized, as on this much of what follows is made to depend. Then comes the anointing of Christ's feet, and the treachery of Judas; then the last supper—this in the Ammergau play is represented as an ordinary meal, all sitting;—then comes the apprehension of Christ, the denial by Peter, the condemnation, the repentance of Judas and his death. In the Cornish play he hangs himself (*suspendit se*) before the audience; in the Ammergau, the curtain drops before the final catastrophe.

In the Ammergau play human passions take the place of evil spirits; in the Cornish, Satan and other devils appear on the stage, and strut about. One stage direction says, *pombabit lucifer*

⁶ Yet when Adam is buried, and when Noah offers sacrifice, there is a stage direction for "som good church songes to be songe."

si placet, "Lucifer shall strut about if he pleases." Before the final judgment by Pilate, a council of devils in hell is represented, in which it is determined that, to prevent the death of Christ, which they foresee will shake their empire over man, a dream shall be presented to the mind of the governor's wife.

The comic element is omitted in the Ammergau play. The nearest approach to it is in the character of Judas, especially when he counts the money he receives. In the Cornish play the jailers, soldiers, and others, make a great deal of fun, and so spoil the devotional character of the drama. When nails are wanted for the crucifixion, soldiers go to the smith in Market Street, and ask for great spikes to crucify the false prophet Jesus. He says, "In truth I cannot make them; my hands are too sore to handle a tool." Here his wife interrupts him: "Thou liest; they were all right when thou got up in the morning,—take them from under thy cloak, and show them." On showing them in a shocking state, she calls him a false knave, says he has on some occasion worshipped Christ, and magic has been at work; "but," says she, "you shall not be disappointed. I will make some. Come and blow," she says to a soldier. "I will blow," says he, "like a good fellow—no smith in all Cornwall⁷ can blow better." "You villain," says she, "strike athirt, now this side; if the iron gets cold it won't expand, and if they be rough they will be all the worse for the toad Jesus."

There is a long legend connected with the tree from which the cross is made. In the Old Testament mysteries, Adam is represented, when on the point of death, as sending Seth to the gate of Paradise to ask for the oil of mercy, which had been promised. Seth is there shown, by the angel guard, a new-born babe in a maiden's arms, which babe he is told is the Son of God, and the oil of mercy. He has also given to him three pips of the apple which Adam ate (says the "Origin"), which he is directed to put into the mouth of his father as soon as he dies. The "Creation," however, says these pips were from the tree of life, and were to be put, one in Adam's mouth, and the other two in his nostrils.⁸

⁷ This although the scene is acted in Palestine. Thus, also, in the "Origin," Solomon makes a donation to some of his courtiers of "Boswen, Lostwithiel, and Lanerchy," well-known places in Cornwall.

⁸ There is a representation of Seth doing this in the ancient painted glass window of S. Neots, Cornwall.

From these pips sprung three rods, which Moses cut down and used in performing his miracles, and afterwards planted on Mount Tabor, whence David removed them to Jerusalem, on his way curing a lame and a blind man by the virtue inherent in them. The rods were then laid down and left for a while, and when they went to fetch them they were found rooted in the earth, and all three joined in one. When Solomon's temple was in course of erection, the builder, struck by the size and beauty of the tree, had it cut down, and removed to the site of the building, but could make no use of it; for, to whatever purpose they put it, it was found "either too long or too short, too broad or too narrow;" so it was thrown aside, and afterwards made to serve as a foot-bridge over the brook Kedron, which the Queen of Sheba refused to cross, saying it would one time prove the ruin of the Jews. From the brook it is fetched to make Christ's cross.

In the Ammergau play the nailing to the cross is done behind the scenes, and the elevation, which takes place before the spectators, is very solemn. In the Cornish play all is done before the spectators; and a great deal of petty malice is shown, and insulting remarks made, while the executioners stretch with ropes Christ's arms, to make the hands reach the holes made for the nails, which are too far apart. After this comes the agony of the cross; the insults by the priests; the dividing of the garments; the repentance of Dysmas; the address to Christ's mother and John; the giving of the vinegar; and then Christ bows his head and dies. Then the Cornish play introduces a scene from the gospel of Nicodemus. A blind soldier (Longius, or Longinus) is led in. His hand is guided, so that he may thrust his spear into Christ's side. Some of the blood flows down the spear to the hands of Longius; he wipes his eyes, recovers his sight, and is converted. After this comes the taking down from the cross, and the entombment, with which the Cornish play ends, the people, in the epilogue, being invited to come on the morrow to see the "Resurrection." This, however, forms the subject of the seventeenth and last scene of the Ammergau play, which play takes eight hours (with an interval of one hour) to represent. The Cornish play of the "Passion" has 3,240 lines; that of the "Resurrection" (which has an episode, the "Death of Pilate," that might form a separate mystery, quite as long as some of the other mediæval mysteries), 2,646 lines.

At the end of the manuscript of each drama is a circle, which is

thought to represent in some way the stage, and to show the relative position of heaven and hell, and the places the principal *dramatis personæ*, whose names are given on it, were to occupy when not actually playing.

The earliest positive account of the representation of the Cornish mysteries is that of Carew. He wrote his "Survey" about the end of the 16th century, but it was not published till 1602. He speaks of the *Guary miracle*, or "miracle play," as an eye-witness, and as if it were something peculiar to Cornwall.⁹ He describes it as "a kind of Enterlude, compiled in Cornish, out of some Scripture history, with that grosseness which accompanied the *Romanes vetus comedia*;" and says, "For representing it they raise an earthen amphitheatre in some open field, hauing the diameter of his enclosed playne some forty or fifty foot. The country people flock from all sides many miles off to hear and see it; for they haue therein deuils and deuices to delight as well the eye as the eare." Scawen, vice-warden of the Stannaries after the Restoration, speaks of the *Guirremears*, or "speeches great," as he calls them, as things of the past. He says,¹ "They were used at the great conventions of the people, at which they had famous interludes, celebrated with great preparations, and not without shows of devotion in them, solemnized in open and spacious downs of great capacity, encompassed about with earthen banks, and in some parts stonework, of largeness to contain thousands, the shapes of which remain in many places at this day, though the use of them long since gone." Borlase gives a long account of them.² He explains the various metres used in them (for they are written in rhyme), speaks of the great number of persons of the drama, and of the want of unity in time, action, and place (altogether disregarded); and describes two of the playing places (*plán an guarys*), or "continued rounds," as he calls them, to distinguish them from "circles" of detached stones set upright. He gives particular descriptions of the "rounds" of Perranzabulo and S. Just in Penwith. The former is at present the more perfect; it has a deep fosse or ditch all

⁹ "The Survey of Cornwall," folio 71.

¹ "The Parochial History of Cornwall," by Davies Gilbert, P.R.S., &c., vol. iv., page 204.

² "The Natural History of Cornwall," pp. 295-9; "Observations on the Antiquities, Historical and Monumental, of the County of Cornwall," 1st Ed., pp. 195-7.

round, except at the entrance and exit of a road, which is driven right through the centre, though it is uncertain whether this was always so. There is the same thing at S. Just; but the round there, in Borlase's plan, has only one breach, while in Perran round Borlase gives two breaches, as at present—one would at all times be necessary to allow the entry of players and people. According to Borlase's measurement, S. Just round is 126 feet in diameter; Perran round about 130 feet. S. Just round had six tiers of stone benches in the sloping interior of its circular rampart; Perran round seven of turf: this rampart at S. Just rose six feet in height from the area; that at Perran eight feet. The benches, or steps, as we may call them, at S. Just were fourteen inches wide and one foot high; at Perran they would be much the same; so that they would be calculated more for enabling spectators to see over each other's heads as they stood than to make comfortable seats, though when not overcrowded persons might sit. There is also in both these rounds a level space at the top of the rampart seven feet wide, where many could stand. The enclosed circular space at S. Just is perfectly level; but in that at Perran, the level area is broken up by a circular pit and trench. Borlase says in his time the pit was thirteen feet in diameter and three feet deep, the sides sloping, and half way down there was a bench of turf, so formed as to reduce the area at the bottom to an ellipsis. The trench runs from the pit, four feet six inches wide and one foot in depth, to the benches on the rampart, terminating in a semi-oval cavity, which breaks the continuance of the four lower tiers of benches. Borlase conjectures that in some way or other these were contrivances to represent heaven and hell, the grave and the resurrection. Notwithstanding what is stated in a generally accurate local guide, this pit, trench, and cavity still remain, and are known in the neighbourhood, from their shape, as "the devil's dish and spoon;" the central pit, the "dish," is also sometimes called "the pit of hell." In all probability a stage³ was erected over this, and ex-

³ In the performance of the English mysteries in towns a lofty stage, two or three stories high, was used, movable from place to place on wheels, open at the top; in the bottom a room for the players to dress, and at the side an opening leading to what had the appearance of a dark cavern, to represent hell, from whence issued fire and flames, hideous yellings and noises, devils and evil spirits. The opening was sometimes decorated with a monster head and jaws, to represent the mouth of hell, as it was frequently depicted on church walls, one of the most recent discoveries of the kind being at Chaldon,

tended back to the benches, as when the "round" was used for dramatic purposes it would have been useless to have spectators behind the actors. The trench, covered by the stage, would enable the actors who had gone down to hell, or to the grave, and had not to come visibly thence again to pass along to the cavity and return to the stage unnoticed by the spectators, as they seem to have had, as at Ammergau, some rude scenery. It is possible also that they might have, same as at Ammergau, a small covered space on the stage for the acting of the principal parts. One of the stage directions is, *Hic sol obscuratur*. This seems to point to a representation otherwise than altogether *sub dio*; and there is a casual notice of a play called "Sampson" being acted at Penryn, in 1587, in a barn at night.⁴

Some speak of these "rounds" as if they had been formed expressly for the representation of the "Passion," and other extant dramas, and Carew has been quoted in proof. But the amphitheatres Carew speaks of were much smaller, only "about forty feet or fifty feet" in diameter. These are about three times that; and what he says shows also that those he mentions were probably constructed in a less durable manner, mere temporary "rounds;" and to this day there are in various parts of West Cornwall, and only there, circles or earthworks, or traces or traditions of them, which differ in various respects from those of a military character found in the west as elsewhere. And some of these are called in the Ordnance Map, the tithe apportionments, and, in vulgar parlance, *Plain an Guarys*.⁵ Part of the town of Redruth bears the name of *Plain an Gwarry*, from there having once been a round there. In the parish of Kea they have a literal translation of this,

Surrey. There seems to have been something of the sort in the acting of the Cornish mysteries. In the "Creation," when the "Father" has reproved "Lucifer" for his pride, the stage direction says, "Let hell gape when ye father nameth yt."

⁴ "The Cornish Drama," by W. Sandys, F.S.A.; "Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall," No. 3, page 18.

⁵ "There was a *Plaen an guare* near Redruth, now nearly destroyed; another on the Lizard Downs, near Landewednack—a road runs through the middle of it—it is 117 feet in diameter. In Ruan Major was one of sixty-six feet, and in Ruan Minor one of ninety-three feet in diameter, of which the turnpike road cuts off a portion. These are all found in the western part of the county."—Cyrus Redding's "Illustrated Itinerary of the County of Cornwall." There are said to be similar rounds in the parishes of Sithney, S. Hilary, and Grade. Nothing of the kind is found in Devon or East Cornwall.

"Playing (or, vulgarly, Plain) Place," where football, hurling, wrestling, and other games are, or were, practised. Borlase, in speaking of these "rounds," does not limit the use of them to dramatic exhibitions; he speaks also of other sports and games with which the Britons on particular occasions did here delight themselves. For jousts and tournaments, and for the exhibition of small pieces, such as there are a few fragments of in "S. George and the Turkish Knight," and similar pieces still acted at Christmas time by rustic amateur performers, in which there is more action than dialogue, these "rounds" are admirably adapted, there being ample room for players in the level plain, and for spectators on the benches.

It is more probable that the two very large "rounds" were formed in more ancient times for other purposes—possibly, as has been suggested, for storing and protecting the tin collected from the neighbourhood, and that the use for representing "Mysteries" was only secondary; and that those said by Carew to have been formed for the purpose were made in imitation of these. At Ammergau there is nothing of the kind, only a temporary stage with scenery, and tiers of rude wooden seats, mostly uncovered, in front.

In modern times there is a tendency in West Cornwall to imitate these ancient "rounds." "Gwennap Pit," the well-known scene of John Wesley's preaching, is an example. In his Journal Wesley speaks of it as a natural excavation. It was, however, originally formed by the subsidence or falling in of shallow mine works; and in the engraving of Wesley's preaching it presents a very rugged appearance. Here he says he preached to, first 20,000, then he gets up to 30—, 32—, 33,000! Since Wesley first preached there this rude depression has been fashioned into a regular amphitheatre, nearly, if not perfectly, round, shelving downwards, with twelve rounds of grass-covered shallow seats or steps about three feet in breadth, of course narrowing in circumference as they are further down, the lowest step being about sixty feet, and the highest 383 feet in circumference; the area of the whole is about 11,000 square feet, and it will accommodate from 8—, to 10,000 people.⁶ Here, and at Queen's Pit, near Indian Queen's, and in other such "pits,"⁷ the Methodists of various denominations have large open-

⁶ "The Cornish Banner," June, 1847, page 362.

⁷ "Pits," locally, are hollows or depressions in the earth, which these modern amphitheatres are, and so differ from the "rounds," circular enclosures on the natural surface.

air gatherings for preaching, &c.; but they are all modern, though Longueville Jones⁸ speaks of Gwennap Pit as an ancient *Plain an Guary*, or Playing Place, for which it is not at all adapted.

There has been also recently, from time to time, an attempt at a revival of something like the ancient mysteries.⁸ "Joseph in the Pit," "Moses in the Bulrushes," &c., have been acted on stages erected in fields near chapels, by Sunday-school teachers and scholars; but however good the object aimed at—the collecting of funds for the schools—there is a tendency in them to turn religion into ridicule. At Ammergau the drama is acted in a religious and solemn manner, and the spectators as a rule are seriously impressed throughout. The actors also know their parts well. They are said to study the plot for two or three years before the decennial representation comes round; have their several parts assigned months before the performance begins, and each actor is appointed to the character for which he is best fitted, and can go through his part well. It is, and, according to Carew, also was formerly, far otherwise in Cornwall. He says that in his time they did not even conne or commit to memory what they had to say, but trusted to the prompter, who followed them, to dictate from a book in a whisper the words they were to say, which sometimes led the facetious to turn the whole thing into ridicule, as was the case in the instance related by him, where a substitute purposely repeated, not the words intended for him to use, but the private instruction to himself.

Another instance of evil resulting from the practice. At one representation of the "Passion," when, as on the Ammergau and Cornish stage, the piercing scene took place, the soldier missed the bladder containing blood, and pierced the heart of the representative of Christ; on which a brother who was present, enraged at his death, struck down his murderer, and was himself afterwards executed for murder. Such cases are sufficient, however highly visitors may speak of the good effect of the Ammergau play on spectators, to lead one at least to hope that the success attendant on the representation may not lead to a more frequent repetition there; and still further, that it may not be imitated elsewhere, as what *may be* innocent or even instructive on the rude stage at Ammergau, when acted by the serious, simple-minded, and unsophisticated villagers, while they continue such, might elsewhere become positively blasphemous.

⁸ "Archæologia Cambriensis," 1862, pp. 224-5.

THE PHYSICAL POSITION OF THE MIND.

ABSTRACT OF MR. W. SQUARE'S PAPER.

(Read January 24th, 1873.)

THERE is a physiology of the mind as of the body—a science which examines the phenomena of our spiritual part. The brain is supplied with blood in a most remarkable degree. The method of circulation is different from that of other organs of the body, and is remarkable for the remarkably free anastomosis and fine division of the arteries, and for the retardation of blood in the veins. The nervous system is divided into cells and fibres. These have different functions—the cells of propagation, the fibres of transmission. The whole of the various parts of the nervous system is brought into close relationship. Affections and disturbances of the blood stream also affect the brain, and hence the mental phenomena resulting from brain action. Waste is renovated by material derived from assimilated food. The granular contents of the nerve cells are easily demonstrated to be the part of the brain which acts as pabulum for thought.

Reflex action has mainly to do with the spinal cord. Sensin motor action includes the cranial ganglia. Ideo motor action includes also the cerebrum.

Mental acts are divided into two sorts; firstly, those that result from the impressions received from the external world; the second appear to be different, but really are identical with the first. These seem to be the pure product of mental action, but are really reflected external impressions that have been for some time retained. These actions are observed in a lesser degree in animals. In dogs ideo motor acts are common, hence showing that dogs possess mind producing brain of a rather high order. As then we human beings have the higher specialization of nerve action, so we, in the same ratio, outstrip the lower animals in the value of our mental actions.

As the brain is developed, so is the mind gradually evolved. In times long gone by the evolution was not complete, hence in ancient paintings and sculpture we see no heads of intellectual conformation.

The greater intellects appear to have the faculty of forcing actions downwards in the mental scale, so that they shall be performed by less elevated centres. As man's brain differs, so must his responsibility differ. Thus many murderers are totally irresponsible, as they suffer under a moral mania.

This tendency is hereditary, and even where not fully developed we see in the relations of lunatics eccentricities and idiosyncrasies that are easily accounted for by their unfortunate relationship.

It seems better to divide the brain and its product anatomically rather than metaphysically, as in doing so we have a concrete substance, and not an abstract phenomenon to deal with.

The will grows with the general development of the brain. It is at best, however, an ill-defined power, and is constantly liable to perturbations from trifling external causes. Our free will appears to be so great because of the great complexity of our external relationship.

An electric machine is a comparatively simple instrument, but gives wonderful results. The brain is a very complex instrument, and from it, therefore, we may expect marvellous and complex results.

As our minds become more enlightened, we do away with dealings in the miraculous, and in this, as well as other cases, we shall try to place mental phenomena in the category of the physics.

If we do not look on mental phenomena as the reflections of external impressions, we must create a new power elsewhere unheard of in nature, and also allow the destruction of definite force. The interrogation of self-consciousness practically tells us nothing, as each one does it in his own way, and the results are usually at variance.

There are three methods, then, of studying mental science, the Metaphysical, the Psychological, and the Physiological; but the last is the one which we must expect to produce the best and most lasting results.

SANITARY LEGISLATION.

ABSTRACT OF MR. A. ROOKER'S PAPER.

(Read January 30th, 1873.)

THE Lecturer, at some length, pointed out the object of Government as tending to the maintenance of the State, the security of the person, the protection of property, and the development of civilization and social progress. While some regarded the office of Government as simply protective, others assumed that there devolved on it the responsibility of inaugurating and giving effect to whatever conduced to individual good. But this was scarcely tenable; for the State could not provide in every way for the well-being of every personal unit, which would be impossible. But the immediate question especially related to sanitary legislation. He then showed, at some length, what sanitary legislation involved, its objects, and the means through which they might be attained; and pointed out, as one evident result of recent inquiry, that the moral as well as the social condition of a people in a great degree depended on their physical condition. After carefully tracing the development of sanitary legislation, the lecturer referred to the progress of sanitary improvement in the immediate locality. The borough of Plymouth included an area of 1,500 acres, of which 500 acres only were occupied with houses. In 1851 there were 5,178 houses in Plymouth, and in 1871 they had increased to 7,867. In 1851 the population was 52,221; in 1861 it had reached 62,600; and in 1871 it had increased to 66,525. The area occupied by buildings had not increased in the same proportion as the population. With the sea in front, Cattewater and the Laira to the left, and Stonehouse, with its estuary, on the right, lateral extension was very difficult; and the increase of population had resulted in closer aggregation, aggravated in some degree by want of capital, and the swarm of small builders ready to settle on any eligible site, and cover it with inferior houses. In 1847 the Plymouth Health of Towns Association, which was formed about that time, mainly owing to the strenuous and

philanthropic efforts of the Rev. J. Odgers, who was then residing in the town, reported fully on the sanitary condition of Plymouth, on data obtained through very careful inquiry; and it showed that in Plymouth, on the average, a larger number of persons occupied each separate dwelling-house than even in London, or the other great centres of population. The first Local Act for this borough was passed in 1770, but it only provided for lighting and watching the town, and for regulating the carmen and porters; and the later Acts of 1772 and 1774 were confined, but with various amendments, to the same objects. In 1824 the Plymouth Improvement Act, which was only superseded by national legislation, was passed, and its scope was far wider and more beneficial. It was an Act "for better paving, lighting, cleaning, watching, and improving the town and borough, and for regulating the police thereof, and for removing and preventing nuisances and annoyances therein;" and in the main its machinery was effective, and greatly in advance of the period when it was passed. The powers conferred by this Act were vested in certain commissioners appointed by the Statute, and other commissioners to be associated with them by election. These commissioners had full power to pave and re-pave the streets, to make drains, to repair private drains which communicated with the public sewers at the owners' expense, and to make and cleanse private drains, if requisite, after notice; to provide for lighting the streets, to cleanse the streets, to order the removal of offensive buildings, matter, or refuse; to require that steam-engines should consume their own smoke; to prevent public nuisances specified in the Act; to prevent cattle from straying in the streets; to provide for watering the town and effecting public improvements; and for the purposes of the Acts to levy rates and exercise the powers it conferred. But although the Act was comprehensive, and the commissioners included the ablest and most influential of the inhabitants, the work was not fully effected; and, from the inquiry made by the Association in 1847, it was evident that, to give effect to discretionary power vested in individuals, there must exist a wise and intelligent sympathy with the object to be accomplished, which should justify action on the part of the authorities, and make the people tolerant of its exercises. The report showed that at that time there was a population of 38,600; that 28 streets, having 3,300 inhabitants, had no drains, and 53 streets, with 9,996 inhabitants, were very imperfectly drained; and there

were 80 pigsties and 12 slaughter-houses within the town; that there were 753 houses without town water, and only one house in 81 had a cistern or tank; and the average number of people living in one house was larger than in London, Manchester, and Nottingham. The death-rate in Plymouth being above the general town average, an inspector visited the town in 1852, and made his report in 1853. The consequence was the adoption of the Public Health Act and the formation of a Local Board. And since that time £30,000 has been spent on the public drains, and £10,000 for catchpits. The lecturer explained the present drainage arrangement in detail, and said that, when people complained rates were high, they should remember that nothing is really dear which is worth much more than it costs. The water supply was unexceptionable, and the system of constant supply was explained. From 1844 to 1850 (seven years) the death-rate was 25·10, and it subsequently increased; whilst from 1867 to 1872 it had dropped to 21·46; so that the average saving of life was 200 annually. Sanitary conditions had been greatly improved; for whilst in 1854 Plymouth stood low in the list of healthy towns, in 1871 the death-rate at London was 25, Bristol 26, Birmingham 32·5, Liverpool 37, Manchester 28, Portsmouth 17, and Plymouth 20·56. The lecturer fully traced the progress of sanitary legislation from 1848 to 1872, and stated that no less than 25 statutes had been passed since 1840 bearing on sanitary reform, and resulting finally in the establishment of the Local Government Board in 1871, and in the Sanitary Act of 1872. Special reference was made to the last Sanitary Act, the appointment of medical inspectors, and the establishment of local boards where they had not previously existed. It was evident that one of the earliest improvements demanded was the consolidation of the sanitary body and its re-arrangement, and in effecting this it would be necessary that the duties devolving on the local authorities should be less optional than at present. The lecturer deprecated the appointment of medical men at insufficient salaries, and said that the power of appeal against any sanitary neglect should be encouraged, so that the great hindrance to local administration might be counteracted as far as possible. It seemed to the lecturer that a board of health would be required to devote itself wholly to sanitary measures. There was much in the present condition of the country to awaken the deepest anxiety and prompt to ceaseless effort. In the educa-

tion of the people, the diffusion of religious knowledge, the maintenance of better health, the protection of life and property, and in leading the great body of the people to sympathize with these objects, we may hope, with God's blessing, that the future of England shall be as great and prosperous, and as free, and even more so than in the past—still remembering in all we do that, "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it."

THE BOTANY OF PLYMOUTH IN CONNECTION WITH ITS NATURAL FEATURES AND CLIMATE.

ABSTRACT OF MR. T. R. ARCHER BRIGGS'S PAPER.

(Read February 6th, 1873.)

THE lecturer commenced by stating that one of the chief objects of the Plymouth Institution had often been declared to be the investigation of the natural phenomena of the neighbourhood, and on this ground sought to justify himself for bringing forward a subject which he had to some extent dealt with on previous occasions.

He stated that the tract of country to which his remarks would have reference was that lying within twelve miles of Plymouth on every side, so that it would be seen to include a small part of S.E. Cornwall, as well as the larger portion of S.W. Devon, having altogether an area of 180,204 statute acres, or rather over 281 square miles. He followed with a sketch of its surface characteristics, and then traced their influence on its botany, observing that, when we take into consideration the natural features and very diversified character of this tract, we cannot feel surprised at finding its Flora remarkably rich, varied, and interesting. On looking at its long line of coast, we see it affording all the conditions required by many maritime and rupestral species; turning to its numerous river estuaries and tidal inlets, we find them offering on their sides congenial habitats to others, which, while they need a saline soil or air, yet shun the exposure of the coast. Moreover, we must remember that large bodies of salt-water influence to a certain extent the character of the vegetation to a considerable distance around them, probably through imparting salt to the atmosphere. Further inland we see the many stream banks sup-

porting a great variety of varied forms that delight to grow in proximity to running fresh-water, or need a damp soil, whilst the adjoining meadows or overhanging woods supply all required by numerous pratal or sylvestral species. Further north are large commons to yield ericetal plants, or such as are only found where virgin turf still prevails. Here, too, are extensive moory tracts, where abundant moisture on the surface and in the atmosphere nourishes numerous beds of *Sphagnum*, to support, either in decay or when in verdure, the requirements of several uliginal plants, such as the *Droseræ*, *Pinguicula lusitanica*, &c. A few others of another nature find in the clefts of the adjacent tors, or on the many rocky declivities, all that they need. On the other hand, our Flora is poor with regard to one class of plants—fresh-water aquatics—to be accounted for from the fact of sluggish streams and still waters being not numerous in so hilly a tract. Moreover, it has not the canals (at least, in any number) that afford in many districts all that several of such species require. Thus do we find on all sides an intimate connection between the physical features and the botany of the country around Plymouth, and see surface peculiarities furnishing reasons for facts connected with floral distribution

Some reference was made to the agriculture of the area, also to its lanes and hedge-banks.

A sketch of its whole system of drainage, together with the names, boundaries, and botanical peculiarities of six districts founded on it, was given, followed by particulars respecting its geology, and an attempt to trace in a small measure the influence of geological and lithological phenomena on its botany, the lecturer being willing to attribute quite as much power to the lithological character of a rock as to its chemical composition.

Facts respecting the climate of Plymouth were then stated, and the probability was suggested of its influencing the floral features of the area more by its general equability and its humidity than in any other way.

Two other matters that bear on the relative distribution of species were then mentioned—the warfare between species, and insect agency.

In conclusion, the lecturer observed that, although diverse and difficult to discover were the laws and influences that had produced the existing Flora of Plymouth, yet that they together had been powerful was proved by the large number of its species. Scattered

over its 281 square miles are above 640 species of native plants, counting some segregates, but carefully excluding all "denizens, colonists, aliens, and casuals," which, numbering altogether nearly 200, would, if reckoned in, make a total of above 840 species, a large proportion of the whole number of British plants for so comparatively small an area.

TENANT-RIGHT.

ABSTRACT OF MR. H. CLARK'S PAPER.

(Read February 13th, 1873.)

THE Lecturer said the subject of, tenant-right was attracting great attention; not only landlords and tenants being concerned, but also the public. Tenant-right was of national advantage, and legislation was needed on the subject. All that was asked for was compensation for unexhausted manures and permanent improvements; and those who looked at the matter in an impartial light said the demand was based on justice and equity. As things at present stood, a large portion of the soil was imperfectly cultivated, as farmers received no security for the expenditure of their capital. If security were given, the producing powers of the country would be increased, and consequently the price of provisions would be reduced. The Board of Trade returns showed that £60,000,000 worth of corn, beef, mutton, and other produce were annually imported into this country. Was there no remedy for this? Did the land of England produce all it was capable of producing? This he answered in the negative. It was calculated that, if 30s. more were spent on an acre than was now employed throughout the country, a quantity equivalent to all the food imported could be raised in this country, beside what was now grown. There was no lack of capital; but as long as the law remained as it was, there would be no increase in the amount expended on the land, which would consequently languish. The cry for tenant-right showed an improvement amongst the agriculturists, and an advancement in agriculture. While farmers were subject to yearly tenancies and six months' notice to quit, no permanent improvement in agriculture could be ensured. Tenant-right, or security of tenure in the shape of a lease, was

wanted; but the lease was not sufficient, and the recognition of tenant-right was quite as necessary with a lease as without one. He argued that the landlord would not be injured by tenant-right, or his property or privileges interfered with; for unless a tenant had improved his estate he was not entitled to receive compensation for unexhausted improvements. The rents would not be lessened, as under the present system the tenant left the land as low, poor, and exhausted as he possibly could; whereas, if he had the protection of legislation, it would be his interest to farm well up to the last day of his tenancy; and rents would be obtained accordingly. Keep up the cultivation and the rents would be kept up; lower the one and they would lower the other. At present the landlord had every protection lawfully allowed him, but the tenant had none. In Lincolnshire there was a liberal tenant-right, and the high position of agriculture in that county he believed was mainly due to the justice, moderation, and liberality of the landowners. The answer to those who said that legislation was not wanted was, that the law was not asked to compel good landlords—and there were very many of these—but to restrain the bad ones. All that was wanted was to make a legal recognition of tenant-right, and the law could not be made in terms too general. Let it be admitted that the law should embrace every part of the country; let the Act be as simple and short as possible, and contain a definition of the principle of right to claim compensation for unexhausted improvements. He objected to the consent of the landlord being always asked for in the case of permanent improvements before the tenant could make them. If that was passed, where there was an incompetent landlord, tenants would be no better off than they were now. In answer to the cry about a man having a right to do what he liked with his own, he urged that this right should be limited by considerations for public convenience. He denied that there was now any freedom of contract between landlord and tenant. It was for improvements made, not capital expended, that compensation was asked for. The Bill which Mr. Howard, M.P., was going to bring before Parliament embodied pretty much the views he held upon the matter. The great curse of the country were the laws which at present existed preventing a landowner from doing what he would with his property to carry out improvements upon it.

ON EDUCATION AT HOME AND AT SCHOOL.

ABSTRACT OF THE REV. J. M. HODGE'S PAPER.

(Read February 20th, 1873.)

NECESSARY abandonment of the subject "Schools of all Ages," as being too large a one, led to the choice of the present subject. Reference to the Economical view of the question, and to the success of the Jesuit Fathers as schoolmasters. Want of sufficiently eminent professional skill to cope with the difficulties of training young children best remedied by substituting small groups of pupils for large ones. Contrast between the ease with which a lively interest in the lesson can be maintained among a few pupils and the difficulty required to fix the attention and secure an intelligent knowledge of the subject of a lesson given to a large class. Illustration from the study of Latin or Greek Grammar.

Comparison of the moral power possessed by a well-ordered family circle with that of a large school, however well conducted, tends to show the advantage of grounding a child morally as well intellectually before sending him to mix unrestrainedly with other boys. Objection that this course would check the growth of a manly and independent spirit met by the consideration that such a course need in no wise interfere with a boy's training for the world, but would better prepare him for a gradual rise from a child to a man; preventing the forcing the change prematurely. Fear of the "milk-sop" element being engendered by such a training further opposed by the consideration of a page's training in the Middle Ages.

Comparison of the physical training of a page with that of a school-boy in the present day, and suggestions for the improvement of the latter by the establishment of gymnasia, &c.

Advantage of early and thorough grounding in general culture, as affording opportunities for earlier commencement of professional education, thus enabling general culture itself to be extended and carried on to a later age. Further advantage of early instruction with a view to a man's special vocation, and also of training in

manual dexterity, illustrated by reference to the Colonial question, since an immense gain would be likely to accrue to the cause of Colonial enterprise and organisation, and so to that of general morality and happiness, if the young men of the upper classes were early trained to undertake the direction and government of new settlements, and the rest of the youth of the nation were fitted to undertake, if needs be, their several parts in the work. Consideration of the standard of education needful to be attained, and the sacrifice of time required on the part of the ladies of a family who should undertake the duty of preparing boys for school. Concluding remarks.

FOG.

ABSTRACT OF MR. W. GAGE TWEEDY'S PAPER.

(Read February 27th, 1873.)

THE word "Fog" is used to describe haziness of mind about facts—a condition possibly analogous to photographic fog.

Doubts expressed as to whether the science of the majority of educated people is more than a superficial veneer.

The Zetetic Philosophy and Mr. Hampden's wager, with its results.

One use of a University training is occasionally to convince a man that he is a fool.

The popular belief in spiritualism is an illustration of the slight hold which the upper classes of society have on science.

How far can science be supposed to have leavened the intellect of the human race?

Some examples of "Fog."

Popular notions of astronomy put to a practical test. Lord Macaulay's notions about the signs of the zodiac. Sir Walter Scott on the habits of full moons. Victor Hugo on the equinoctial gales. Mr. Bright on the stars. Doctor Cumming on the sun; and Mr. Lockyer on local time.

Popular notions about English History. Angus on the English Language and the British Church. The fable of the dog and his image shown to rest on an imaginary fact. What is a fact? The value of evidence examined. Examples of the difficulty of ascer-

taining quite recent facts. Inaccuracy *versus* Lying. The duty of cultivating accuracy of observation.

The teaching of our primary schools examined by Huxley. The shortcomings of our middle-class schools. The value of scientific knowledge in practical life—(1) to the architect or engineer, (2) to the physician or surgeon, (3) to the clergyman. Huxley at a clerical meeting.

The remedy for “Fog” is science teaching at an early age. *What* sciences should be taught. *When* they should be taught. And lastly, *how* they should be taught.

Suggestions put forward and invited on these three heads.

COMPARATIVE ETYMOLOGY.

ABSTRACT OF MR. EDWARD STEANE JACKSON'S PAPER.

(Read March 6th, 1873.)

DEFINITION of Etymology and of Comparative Etymology, or Philology. Recent perfection of the Science. Futility of the attempts of the ancient Greek and Roman writers in this pursuit, and the guess-work of more modern writers, including the extravagances of some living scholars.

Etymology must be founded upon an historical basis, as well as upon the known interchange of letters. Definition of roots. Arrangement of letters into vowels, mutes, and liquids, with their proper natural sequence. Large extent of the subject. The lecturer illustrated the following etymological phenomena:—

I. *Compression* is where several syllables are squeezed into a small number, as *mea Domina* into *ma'am*. In Gallic geography a kind of *concentration* is found, when the name of an ancient tribe becomes the modern appellation of its capital town.

II. *Evanesence of letters*. Certain letters have a tendency to drop off, others to intrude. Especial liability of the letter *s* to this capriciousness. Original conjecture of the derivation of the Greek *πóσις*, a husband.

III. *Distortion*. Here an antiquated or foreign word is per-

verted in popular speech to another of totally different meaning, or to one which has no meaning at all.

IV. *Idem sonans*. Here words totally different in derivation come at last to be identical in form and sound. Necessity of distinguishing between eye and ear in etymological research. Mistakes made, not only by uneducated persons, but also by well instructed and popular authors.

V. *Description*. Generally speaking, perhaps universally, the appellations of animals and natural objects are given from some accident of cry, form, colour, &c. This peculiarity observable in Hesiod and the old Greek didactic poetry.

VI. *Modification*. This principle, so familiar in German, and there called *umlant*, *about sound*, and in that language denoted by a particular mark, is observable also in English. The broad vowels, *a, o, u*, subject to this phenomenon.

VII. *Elevation and depression*. This is where words of originally high and serious derivation deteriorate, and come to be applied to common and low meanings; or, contrariwise, those of a low origin are raised to high dignity. In some instances a word will suffer both elevation and depression, as, *e.g.*, *treacle*.

VIII. *Miscellanea*. The Lecturer concluded with one or two miscellaneous remarks with respect to the decline of languages. Abundance of diminutive forms in use in the low or popular Latin; thence passing into the modern French. The loss of inflexion a common sign of an ancient language passing into a modern one. Peculiar use in some English dialects of the nominative of the personal pronouns instead of the objective.

“GERM THEORY.”

ABSTRACT OF MR. GEORGE JACKSON'S PAPER.

(Read March 13th, 1873.)

PROFESSOR LISTER, of Edinburgh, in his address on Surgery, delivered in this town in the autumn of 1871, said that he considered the Antiseptic treatment of wounds, &c., to be based on the Germ Theory. That he held that the germs of disease and putrefaction were floating in the atmosphere, and that the object of the Antiseptic treatment was to exclude and destroy them. It is, however, quite possible, according to Dr. Bastian, to explain the good results of Professor Lister's treatment on chemico-physical grounds, more especially on the physical theory of fermentation.

Aristotle believed in the spontaneous origin of eels and other fish out of river mud, and that animals might proceed from vegetables. Harvey appears to have thought that all life proceeded from a vegetative germ, generally speaking, yet that this germ need not necessarily proceed from a living parent. Redi, an Italian, was the first who combated the then generally received opinion; but he rather showed that particular instances, such as that maggots did not generate in decayed matter, “*de novo*,” but were the product of eggs laid by flies, than to disprove the general doctrine.

Both sides have had their advocates up to the present time. M. Pasteurs, Professor Huxley, Professor Lister, and others, upholding the Germ Theory; Professor Huxley, with certain reservations, M. Pouchet, and Dr. Bastian, believing that it is quite possible for living organisms of a low type to originate without there being any previously existing germ. M. Pouchet believed that the vegetable infusions with which he experimented were possessed with some special vital force, and that organized beings were animated by forces which are in no way reducible to physical and chemical forces. Dr. Bastian goes further than this, and, under the title of Archebiosis, describes how living matter appears

to originate from matter which cannot be said to possess any vital properties, even in solutions which had previously contained merely mineral ingredients. Dr. Bastian considers the term “Spontaneous Generation” to indicate what he describes as Archebiosis as incorrect, as it takes place according to natural laws; and, again, that many have included under the term Spontaneous Generation instances of what are really cases of Heterogenesis, which is really the original living matter from pre-existing life; but from living matter of a different description; thus, from the cells of *Spirosyra*, a fresh-water weed, spores issue forth, which become converted into minute animalculæ, named *amœbæ*.

It is necessary to determine what shall be considered as living matter. Formerly all living matter was supposed to be reduced to cells; this was taught by Virchow and other great authorities. Goodsir, of Edinburgh, believed that in the nucleus or central spot of the cell resided the vital property. It now appears that we are to regard minute specks of matter, without nucleus or enclosing membrane, as possessing vital properties. This has been named by Professor Huxley and others Protoplasm, or the Physical Basis of Life.

Dr. Bastian’s experiments, which consist in the main of boiling various vegetable and mineral ingredients in flasks, which are then hermetically sealed and exposed to a temperature of 75° to 80° F. for some days, and finding by microscopic examination that low forms of life are present in the solutions, have been objected to on various grounds; viz., that the germs have resisted the heat to which they have been exposed, or that air has found its way into the flasks at the moment of closure, &c. Dr. B. Sanderson has, however, confirmed the exactness of the experiments; and, although some have yielded negative results, yet that does not explain those in which positive ones have been obtained. Still, however, the evidence does not appear to be quite conclusive; and although the balance of evidence seems to be strongly in favour of Dr. Bastian’s views, yet it is probable that it will not be generally accepted until verified by equally skilled observers, and tested in various ways.

NOTES ON SOME MOORLAND AND BORDER CHURCHES
IN DEVON.

MR. JAMES HINE'S PAPER.

(Read March 20th, 1873.)

THE purpose of this paper is to bring before the notice of the Society some of the architectural features of a few of the most secluded of Devonshire churches—the Moorland churches, or churches situated near the Moor. In this railway age, when the prosaic iron road goes within a very few miles of almost any place, none of these churches are very out-of-the-way, or difficult to get at; but they are seldom visited by strangers, or indeed by the inhabitants of our own large towns. Murray and Black pass them by with the briefest description; and in the county works of Polwhele, Lysons, and others, they are scarcely more fully noticed. Yet they possess a local interest certainly, and an interest, I also think, of a wider kind. That such a wild and bleak district, with so few inhabitants (situated, as at Brent Tor, “all alone,” as Risdon says, or as at Sourton, with only two or three cottages hard by), should possess any churches at all, is in itself an interesting fact—one that points, I think, to the completeness of a system which planted a church in every district, which, not content to make provision for the ninety and nine in the wilderness of towns and villages, sought the one lost sheep on the mountain tor, and provided a pen for it in its furthest wanderings.

These weather-beaten, unsheltered little churches are interesting, too, from the fact that, after being exposed to every wind of heaven for four, five, or even six centuries, they are still standing with very much the same external form which they presented when first built. In their construction, and architecture also, they are not devoid of interest. Built of the hardest and least workable material, they yet possess, with some few peculiarities, the same characteristics in mouldings and other details which distinguish the most elaborate contemporary churches in other parts of the

country. There is, however, no frittering away of pretentious and unsuitable ornament, but a consistency throughout. The nearer to the actual Moor, the simpler in form and construction the church. The Moorland builders, however, catching the honest spirit of the more learned craftsmen of their age, and in the full belief and assurance that "the gods see everywhere," never put up a handsome west front and a beggarly return, and yet did not begrudge the sacrifice which ornament sometimes means, and bestowed a great deal of taste and skill on the woodwork in the sheltered little interiors, and especially on the rood lofts and screens, which were the glory of their churches. There was not much originality about their work; perhaps there was pretty much sameness about it; but it was good and honest, and interesting because it had a meaning. These works of their hands (whatever they may have been worth) were, like their prayers, offerings of "intention."

It has been supposed that in some Devonshire parishes the art of wood-carving was hereditary in many families, and was followed by them for several generations.

As you are well aware, Devon cannot compete with the neighbouring county of Somersetshire in the magnificence of its churches. We have no parish church comparable for loftiness and elegance with Redcliffe Church at Bristol, and no tower so lofty and elaborate as that of St. Mary at Taunton. This arises partly, no doubt, from the circumstance that in Somersetshire they have the advantage, which we do not possess, of quarries of freestone, such as Bath stone and Ham Hill stone (especially the latter), which, though not so durable as our granite and limestone, are much more easily worked, and are much finer and richer in colour than the materials available for building in the southern part of Devon at any rate. Then the situations of the churches in the Damnonian peninsula are much more exposed than those of the more inland and sheltered churches. This will account probably for nearly all the churches in South Devon and Cornwall being very *low*, some of them with two or three steps *down* to the floor, and hardly one of them having the nave roof rising above a clerestory.

I suppose one of the most popular abodes of the primitive races was an underground residence. Burrowing was then the fashion. Livingstone is supposed to be exploring dwellings of this kind at the present time, and we shall all be anxious to hear from him something about them. But as the inconvenience connected with

the defective light and ventilation of such places became apparent, huts above ground, particularly limited in size, and low, and with conical roofs, came into vogue. From these it was an easy transition to buildings, small, narrow, and low; if covered with stone, having a plain semi-round arched roof, in form like that of a stage waggon. It seems almost certain that the earliest British churches in Cornwall were of this simple construction; and though the churches built in that county and in Devon in the middle ages were very different in size, arrangement, and detail to these, yet they never rose to lofty proportions, even in what is technically called the Perpendicular period, when the ancient form of waggon roof, though in wood instead of stone, became almost a distinguishing type of the Devonshire churches. Some of these waggon or cradle roofs appear to have been boarded immediately over the arched ribs, and others—and these the most common—opened to the ridge. We have not far to go to see a good specimen of this kind of roof—I mean that at St. Andrew's in this town. Nearly all the churches I am about to describe have roofs of this description.

Before giving a technical account of these buildings, it may be convenient that I should remind you that the "Early English" was the first of the Gothic or pointed styles used in this country; that it succeeded the Norman towards the close of the twelfth century, and gradually merged into the "Decorated" at the end of the thirteenth; and that out of the "Decorated" grew the "Perpendicular," which was the last of the Gothic styles, and which, commencing at the end of the fourteenth century, continued through the fifteenth, and was finally lost in the Renaissance at the close of the sixteenth century.

About three miles from Tavistock, lying a little off from the Oakhampton Road, and approached by crossing the Tavy at the picturesque and genuine old Devonshire bridge of Harford, is the pretty church of Peter Tavy. Entering at the south porch through a glazed door (which might be suitable for a small Cockney villa, but which is very out of place here), we find that the church consists of a *nave* (with four moulded granite arches, three piers, and two responds), *chancel* with bold chancel arch, *south transept*, and *north aisle*. The church, which is in good condition, is throughout Perpendicular, with the exception of the aisle, which is decorated, and which, from the character of the wall masonry

and the tracery of the two-light windows (executed in Polyphant stone), evidently belongs to an earlier church.

Nearly all the existing churches of the district, it may be remarked by-the-by, show evidences of earlier foundations; and it seems likely that all the parishes shortly after the Norman conquest possessed small churches, chiefly cruciform in plan. One of these I shall hereafter describe.

In Peter Tavy Church is a good octagonal Perpendicular font of granite, with geometrical patterns and devices, carved in panels on each side. One of the symbols is the keys of St. Peter crossed.

There was formerly a very fine rood screen in this church, but the remains of it, when the church was restored a few years ago, were not replaced; I suppose, because they were too decayed. Some sound fragments still exist, and are to be seen at the west end, near the tower arch. The original colours are still on them, and the vermilion and gold are even now remarkably bright. On one of the panels is a painting of St. Mary Magdalen with the alabastrum; on another St. Joseph with a carpenter's square; on another St. Paul with a sword; and on another a representation of Peter the patron saint. Under the tower arch have been fixed the remains also of several elaborately carved wood panels, which are parts of what would appear to have been a very curious and almost unique post-reformation screen, which, I was given to understand, stood in front of the older screen before the church was altered.

The rood, it will be remembered, was a cross or crucifix, and was erected over the screen at the entrance to the chancel. Often it was of large size, and frequently on either side were the figures of St. John and the Blessed Virgin.

Lights were often placed in front of these roods, especially on certain festivals of the church.

“When that he to the kyrke come,
To-fore the rode he kneld anon,
And on hys knees he fell.”

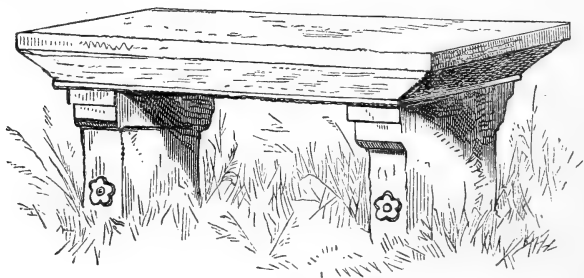
This rood, or rode, was supported either by a beam called the rood-beam, or by a gallery called the rood loft, over the screen. It was approached from the inside of the church, generally by a small stone staircase, which is found in nearly all these churches, even where there are no remains of the screen itself.

In the middle ages it was esteemed a sacred privilege to be permitted burial under the rood.

Chaucer says—

“He died when I came fro Hierusalem,
And lieth in graue vnder the rode beam.”

There is a fine Perpendicular tower of three stages to this church, with embattled parapets, and very handsome octagonal pinnacles (crocketed), and with carved finials at the top. In the churchyard, under the shadows of the large and beautiful beech trees, are some very interesting tombstones. Two of these somewhat resemble cromlechs, though they only date back to the seventeenth century. They consist of a massive granite slab, supported at each end by an upright granite stone. So far as I know, they are peculiar to these Devon churchyards. There is one at Lidford a little older than these at Peter Tavy, and which once had a metal plate inserted on the slab, and there are several in the churchyard at Bridestowe. Some of them are elaborately, though rudely, carved in relief. One of those at Peter Tavy has this inscription on it, “Here lieth the body of Walter Cole, of this parish. *Buried* the 18th day of October, 1663. Aged, at death, 24.” Nowadays we say a man was *born* on such a date, and *died* on such a date; but in the olden time the Christian’s mortal life began and ended with the rites of the church; and the custom of saying that he was “buried” instead of “died” continued in many places down to quite the end of the last century.



On a monument *within* the church, on the north side, the date of which is 1590, is the following, to five infant daughters of Richard Eveleigh, rector of Peter Tavy—

“Five infant sisters from one wombe,
Here lie together in one tombe;

Their tyde did ebb before full sea,
Their welcome was their well away.
Their parents have noe cause to weep,
Sith they lie here but in a sleep."

A walk of a mile and a half from Peter Tavy will bring us to Mary Tavy, "baptized and consecrated" (as Risdon says) "to the memory of the Virgin Mary, a thing frequent with our forefathers in erecting of sacred structures, to dedicate them to some peculiar saint that, by their protection, they might be patronized."

The church, of the Perpendicular period, is exceedingly picturesque and interesting, though much smaller and less ornate than its neighbour at Peter Tavy. It consists of a *chancel*, *nave*, and *south aisle*. The chancel is about 14 feet by 13, with an original piscina on the south side, having a credence shelf of stone over the water drain. This arrangement is not to be found in many of our Devonshire churches, and is by no means common. On the north side of the chancel is the ancient rood turret now blocked up. The chancel arch has been completely cut away, a corbel stone only remaining over the last of the nave piers. I cannot say when this barbarism was committed. It may have been at the Reformation, when unfortunately so many fabrics were *deformed*, or it may have been at a later period when the axes and hammers were brought into requisition even more ruthlessly. Happily a more discriminating and enlightened feeling now prevails. No sober Englishman would now think of enforcing a principle by knocking about and defacing a church, and the demolition of ancient shrines is not now inculcated as a religious duty.

The nave of this church is about 13 feet by 14, and is separated from the aisle by two four-centred granite arches of the same sectional form as those of most of the other Perpendicular churches of the locality. At the eastern end of the aisle was formerly a little chapel, and on the south side of this chapel is another piscina, with a stone ledge above, very curiously formed in the jamb of one of the south windows. Both nave and aisle have cradle roofs in a much dilapidated and woe-gone state. At the springing of the arched ribs of the nave are some peculiar little pendants or drops, which are also to be seen at Meavy Church, and at the feet of the ribs in the aisle are small carved angels with outstretched wings. The ribs where they intersect are enriched with bosses of foliage and heads. The font, east of the western respond, is of granite, octagonal in form, with stem and base, and quite plain.

The general appearance of this church *internally* is not cheerful, every part (walls, roofs, arches, pillars) being covered with whitewash. Everything indicates how industrious the whitewashing contractor has been. Nothing excepting the actual glazing seems to have escaped his assiduous attention. There is only one apology for whitewash in these exposed churches. In the course of ages, perhaps centuries, it forms a kind of battening or enamelled crust to the walls, and hides the damp to some extent. For you must know that damp is a characteristic of these churches. At one of them I said to the sexton, "You have a good church here, I see." "The church be good enough, I dare say," he replied, "but it be *oncommon* damp;" and my observations led me to the conclusion, I am bound to say, that these buildings *are* mostly "uncommon damp."

The exterior of this little church of St. Mary is charmingly picturesque. Situated on rising ground, the plain but well-proportioned tower seen above the noble elms in the churchyard, the perpendicular tracery, south porch, and time-tinted walls, disclosed behind the branches, and a venerable granite cross at the foot of the churchyard, just outside the gate. On one of the tombstones is an inscription which is both laconic and original—

"Heare is, *in memorandum*, of Mary, wife of Roger Glanville, interred April the 19th, 1708."

On the road to Oakhampton from Tavistock, and about five miles from the former town, stands the little moorland church of Sourton, dedicated to St. Thomas à Beckett. Its situation on the elevated and barren and treeless down, with no houses near it except a small wayside inn, is more bleak and isolated than any of these Dartmoor churches, Brent Tor excepted, and was much more romantic a year or two ago than it is now; but the new railway from Oakhampton to Lidford, passing just under the venerable building, and forming an ugly cutting and bank close to the churchyard, destroys not a little of the poetry of the scene. It is pleasant—at any rate, it is to me—now and then to live in the past and to forget the present; but this cannot be done even in an old Moorland church, if a steam engine happens to be puffing and blowing immediately outside. It mocks your antiquarian wanderings, and assures you in the most unmistakable and emphatic tones that this is the nineteenth, and not the thirteenth, century.

After waiting some time for the key, I was at last informed that

there was *no* key, that it had been lost some time ago, and that it had not been thought worth while to get another. As there are too many keys to most churches, and these churches are not as open as they might be, Sourton may be regarded as a model church in this respect. Of course the population of the immediate vicinity being extremely small, the privileges of an open church are not often taken advantage of by the residents; nor are they sought, I expect, by the wandering moormen and wayside travellers as they doubtless were some four centuries ago.

This church is very small, the nave being only $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 35 feet in length, and the aisle (on the north side) the same length as the nave, and but $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width. The chancel is modern, and possesses no interest, excepting that an ancient squint, or hagioscope, as it is sometimes called—an oblique opening in the east wall of the aisle looking into the chancel—has been preserved. Its purpose was to allow of persons in the aisle seeing the elevation of the Host at the high altar. The whole of the church, including the tower at the west-end of the nave, is Perpendicular, with the exception of the south porch, which is a part of an earlier church, and which contains an original holy-water stoup. A peculiarity of this little church is, that the windows are nearly all square-headed, of two narrow lights, cusped in the head. The tower is in three stages, and, though plain, is exceedingly effective and well proportioned. The doorway of the staircase is in the west wall of the church—an unusual position. The tower and the church are for the most part built of squared granite ashlar. But though so solidly and firmly constructed, nearly every stone tells its tale of the storms and blasts of centuries, there being scarcely a bit of cement or mortar to be seen in the joints, and all the angles are rounded off with wear and tear.

The tower has five bells.—One, cast in 1776, has the motto—

“I to the church the living call,
And to the grave do summon all.”

This is frequently met with.

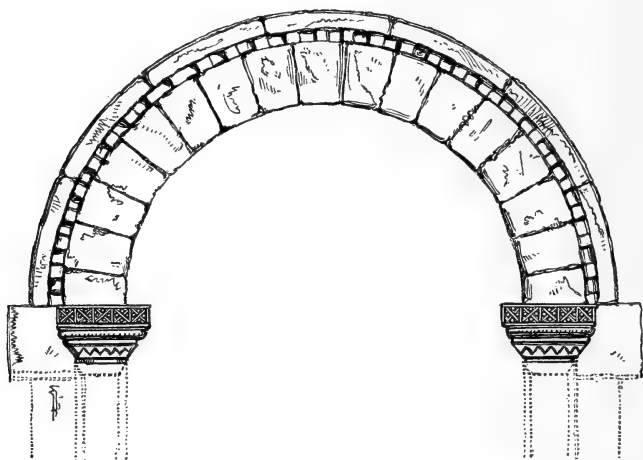
A more uncommon one is that on a bell in Widdecombe-in-the-Moor tower—

“Draw near unto God, and
God will draw near unto you.”

The fullest information on the church bells of Devon is to be found in the valuable and complete work on that subject by my venerable

and learned friend, the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe. He has rung nearly all the church bells in the county, ancient and modern, and has visited every belfry in Devon, that of Sheepstor alone excepted.

About two miles from Sourton is the pretty village of Bridestowe, with the charming grounds of Leawood House immediately contiguous. Though a little off the Moor, the knowledge that a fine Norman archway stood in the village tempted me to visit it. The present church, dedicated to St. Bridget, is affirmed to be on a site different from the original building, which was converted into the poor-house, and was remarkable for a curious roof and Norman arch, and is supposed to have had a circular tower. The arch now forms the entrance to the churchyard, and, with a fine avenue of beech trees, rather raises the visitor's expectations with regard to the church. He is, however, doomed to disappointment. The



church is said to have been built in 1450, but nearly all the ancient features of the building have been concealed under all kinds of monstrosities in compositum and cement.

Like the west front of Lichfield Cathedral—Wyatt's masterpiece of shams—the tower has been most elaborately restored—walls, windows, parapet, pinnacle, and all, in Portland cement! the original windows of the church in nearly all cases having been taken out and replaced by others of the most approved carpenter's Gothic type. The really finely proportioned arcades between nave and aisles have been carefully covered with a thin layer of plaster

and the original mouldings parodied. What were no doubt timber cradle roofs have been converted into coved plaster ceilings springing from compo cornices, such as one often sees round a three-foot passage in some "Myrtle cottage," and the decorations of the interior are so smart and anti-church like that they would appear to be almost fresh from the hands of a West End house painter, with a knowledge of ecclesiastical interiors limited, say, to St. George's, Hanover Square, or any other fashionable church of the Georgian period. There is something very incongruous in all this, as though a Cockney church had been transplanted to the borders of Dartmoor.

I am not aware when this building was so altered and defaced, or by whom, but on the tenor bell in the tower (there are six bells) is this inscription: "These bells re-hung and the tower heightened and beautified, 1828." This probably points to the time when the rest of the "beautifying" was done. That was a bad time—a *very* bad time—what we architecturally call a "dark age," when, notwithstanding the introduction of gas, deformity was commonly mistaken for beauty in things æsthetic.

The church has more recently been re-seated and refloored, in a way which contrasts favourably, with the miscalled restorations already alluded to.

Only one or two fragments of ancient masonry have been suffered to remain uncovered; one of these, a portion of the chancel arch on the eastern side, which appears to be of Early English character, and an original stoup attached to the first pier of the nave as you enter at the south porch.

The church had formerly a very elegant rood-screen and a south rood turret. There is a low screen now at the entrance to the chancel which is, no doubt, a part of the original high one. The squint has been restored in plaster. There is said to be some good plate belonging to this church of the date of 1639.

Lidford is more famous for its castle than its church; for its law, I was going to say, than its gospel. Its law at any rate was peculiar. As Brown, the Devonshire poet, says:

"I've ofttimes heard of Lidford law,
How in the morn they hang and draw,
And sit in judgment after."

But we have nothing to do with the Castle of Dartmoor, its Stanary Court, and the unpleasant historical associations connected

with it. Suffice it to say, that its traditions are firmly engraven on the native mind, and that the ghost of the infamous Jeffreys, who presided within its ancient precincts, is still occasionally seen by a few of the old inhabitants, whose interesting credulity has not been altogether stamped out by the Devon and Cornwall Railway Company.

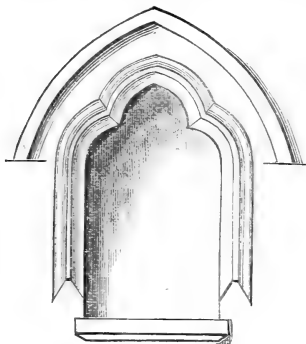
Lidford Church is dedicated to St. Petrock. We find the name of that saint also at Dartmouth. South Brent Church is dedicated to St. Patrick. We may conjecture, therefore, that the British Church founded in Cornwall by the Irish missionaries extended to Dartmoor and its borders, and that on the sites probably of the present parish churches there were little Celtic churches as early as the sixth or seventh century, similar to the building on the sands at Perranzabuloe.

It is not impossible that fragments of masonry of these buildings may still exist in the foundations or other parts of the Norman structures which succeeded them. Both British and Norman masons, however, in these outlying districts, frequently used small rubble stone in their plain masonry, and it would be difficult to distinguish between their work, in the absence of moulded or sculptured ornament, such as was found in the doorway of the little chapel of St. Perran.

The present Church of St. Petrock, at Lidford, is a Perpendicular structure (chiefly, though not entirely) of the fifteenth century, and consists of nave, chancel, south aisle, with porch and west tower. The roofs are open, with bosses on the longitudinal and curved ribs, and some angels on the wall plates. The timbers here (although until of late years they appear to have been ceiled up) are in an excellent condition, and though little more has been done than the removal of the plaster and the scraping of the wood, the result is not unsatisfactory. The restoration of an old church should be conducted on the most conservative principles. What is required is, not to amend or alter, but to conserve and bring to light the missing links of the fabric's architectural history. There are other fields for architectural invention. You may build, if you will, new churches on new principles more conformable with real or supposed modern requirements; but to adopt such principles in dealing with an old church would be to exceed your duty, which is humbly and religiously to *restore* the fabric as well as possible to its original form and condition, remembering

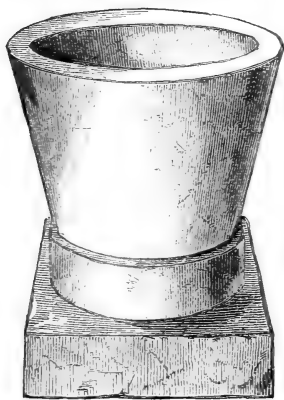
that, however beautiful and well wrought your new material, it can never possess a tithe of the real interest which attaches to the material you replace. Of course, it often happens that walls and roofs are hopelessly decayed and gone, and that entirely new work becomes an absolute necessity. In such cases we cannot do better than adopt as closely as possible the *spirit* of the old architects.

Note in Lidford Church, in the south pier under the chancel arch, the open doorway to the rood staircase, and a curious hagio-



scope pierced through the same pier and staircase. In the chancel is a perfect and beautiful decorated piscina, four feet from the pavement (in the south wall). There is a good deal of decorated masonry in this part of the building, and also in the north side of the nave. Undoubtedly the oldest object in the church is the font, which is circular, and perfectly plain, without any ornament whatever. It appears to be

cut out of Polyphant, or some other green-stone. If it did not belong to the first church on the spot, which I hardly venture to suggest, it is of the Early Norman period. The tower is a square Third-pointed structure of massive granite masonry, without buttresses or turret, but with a handsome battlemented parapet, having a pinnacle at each angle.



In the churchyard, on a tombstone immediately outside the south porch, is a quaint and well-known epitaph, which cannot well be omitted in any description of Lidford.

“Here lies in horizontal position the outside case of George Routleigh, watchmaker, whose abilities in that line were an honour to his profession. Integrity was the mainspring, and prudence the regulator, of all the actions of his life. Humane, generous, and liberal, his hand never stopped till he had relieved distress. So nicely regulated were all his motions that he never went wrong, except when set a-going by people who did not know his key. Even then he was easily set right again. He had the art of disposing his

time so well that his hours glided away in one continual round of pleasure and delight, till an unlucky minute put a period to his existence. He departed this life Nov. 14th, 1802, aged 57, wound up in hopes of being taken in hand by his Maker, and of being thoroughly cleaned and repaired, and set a-going in the world to come."

Some of the exemplary watchmaker's family, I was informed, still reside in the parish.

The whole of Dartmoor Forest is nominally included in this parish, to the amount of 53,900 acres, with a population principally located at Princetown.

Risdon says, "The large limits of this parish, and the far distance of certain villages from the church, caused some of the parishioners to petition Walter, the first bishop of Exon, the 13th of September, 1260, who, with the consent of the patrons, did order that the inhabitants of Balbury and Pushill, two villages in the moor, in regard of their distance from Lidford *being eight miles in fair, and fifteen in foul weather*, should resort to Whitcombe Church; and for such privileges should pay their tythe lambs, and three parts of their offerings, to the parson of Whitcombe, and all other tythes to their mother church."

Some notice of St. Michael's Church on Brent Tor cannot be omitted in these brief notes on moorland churches. Risdon describes it as "a high rocky place, on the top whereof stands a church, full bleak and weather beaten, all alone, as it were forsaken, whose churchyard doth hardly afford depth of earth to bury the dead. This tor serveth as a mark to sailors, who bear with Plymouth haven."

There are many instances of towers serving the purposes of beacons and watch towers, as well as belfries. It has been proved that the round towers of Ireland were intended for these as well as other uses. In that part of Warwickshire known as the Forest of Arden, the ancient spire of Astley Church was the guide of the district, and called the "Lantern of Arden." In the lantern built over the tower of All Saints' Pavement, York, a large lamp was formerly suspended, which served at night as a beacon to travellers over the extensive forest around. But more commonly the beacon fires were lighted in an iron framework set on the top of an angle turret. There is a turret of this description on St. Michael's Mount, and at Hadleigh in Essex, where not only the turret remains, but the iron grate in which the fires were lighted. To mention only one other

distant example, Dundry Tower, in Somersetshire (one of the finest in that county of noble towers), is built on the crown of a steep hill, and is visible far down the Bristol Channel. It was erected by the merchant adventurers of Bristol in the fifteenth century as a landmark for seamen.

One of the most ancient edifices of this class in England is the little beacon church on Brent Tor. Brent Tor, or *Bren*, as it is still sometimes called in the neighbourhood (from the Saxon word *Brennen*, to burn), at a very early period was no doubt a beacon, on which wood, turf, and other fuel was burnt by way of signal. There was probably a line of beacons on the Dartmoor tors, and the intelligence of invasion or distress would be communicated by a rapid succession of beacon fires. The present building, erected in the thirteenth century, but perpetuated the purpose to which the hill had been devoted from a remote time. It was the church's consecration of the site as a sea mark, and not unlikely (though opposed to the common tradition) the building was erected by the abbots of Tavistock, to whom the lands belonged, who in this way probably turned their piety to practical account. Most of the church is of the same period as the earliest existing remains of the Abbey, those very beautiful fragments of an Early English arcade in the churchyard at Tavistock. Tradition says that the foundations of the little church were at first laid at the foot of the mount; but that the devil removed the stones by night from the base to the top, from no preference, it is presumed, to the loftier site, but with the design of frustrating the project altogether. In this he was disappointed; for the builders continued their labours at the summit, though often harassed by furious winds, and the visits of the arch-enemy. On its completion, however, and immediately after its dedication to St. Michael, the patron saint hurled upon the devil such a tremendous mass of rock, that he beat a hasty retreat, and never again ventured near the sacred building, so that the beacon lights, which were afterwards set up on the top of the tower, were never once put out by the prince of darkness. An inscription on the south wall has probably served to keep alive a tradition not yet quite discredited by some natives of the Moor:—"On this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Possibly some *real* incidents, arising out of the opposition of the inhabitants, may have given some colour to the tradition. Fuller, in his "Worthies of Devon," written

only two centuries and a half ago, describes the natives of a village near the church as a lawless tribe, wild as the ancient Scythians. There is another tradition, which ascribes the erection of the church to a merchant, who, overtaken by a storm at sea, vowed that if saved he would build a church upon the first point of land which should appear in sight. This happened to be Brent Tor, and here accordingly he fulfilled his vow in a manner, it must be admitted, consistent with economy, the church being both small and plain. An ornate structure, however, would have been out of place here; and the existing building has always been found sufficiently commodious. The building consists of a nave about 38 feet long and about 15 feet wide, with a tower open to it at the west end about 8 feet square inside, and a porch on the north side. There is no developed chancel, but the pavement at the eastern end is raised one step. The simple parallelogram is covered with a very low-pitched roof of stout oak timbers, boarded and laid with heavy lead. The wall plates rest on plain corbels. The little tower, externally $11\frac{1}{4}$ feet by $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet, though such a striking object from a distance, is only about 32 feet high.

Some writers, in speaking of this church, state that there was a church on this tor as early as 1283, and suggest that a second edifice was afterwards built. From a careful examination of the fabric, I am led to believe that the present, with a few later insertions, is the original church. The general character of the masonry is Early English. The parapet is corbelled in that style, and the small lancet windows and segmental doorways belong to the same period. The walls of the little church are about three feet in thickness. The masonry is of dark-brown ironstone, with dressings of the beautiful greenstone found in the neighbourhood of Tavistock.

Sampford Spiney and Walkhampton Churches illustrate the two leading plans of South Devon and Moorland Churches. Walkhampton consists of a nave with double aisles and chancel, and Sampford Spiney of a nave with a *single* aisle, transept, and chancel. The latter arrangement being best adapted to a small church, is more commonly found in these Moorland churches. An interesting example of this class is Meavy Church, which was probably founded by the family de Mewi. Grants under this name to the religious houses of Plympton and Buckland, c. 1202 and 1214, are extant, but the individuals cannot be determined. The chancel and a little

chapel on the south side, known as the "Drake aisle," evidently belong to this period, and from the character of the masonry, and the existence of a blocked up Early English arch on the north side of the chancel, were parts, I think, of a cruciform church, founded, as conjectured, by the Mewi family. The plan of this little Early English church must have corresponded very nearly with the original and somewhat earlier church at South Brent, which I shall briefly describe hereafter, and probably, with a number of other ecclesiastical buildings on the borders of the moor, built during or prior to the thirteenth century.

The nave, south aisle, transept, and tower at Meavy were erected in the fifteenth century. I find a record of a chapel to St. Matthew, Meavy, being licensed November 23rd, 1433, and this I presume to have been the existing transept. All the roofs are of the waggon type, in a hopeless state of decay. Having professionally to examine them, and being most anxious to preserve them if possible, I just tapped a rib and boss here and there, when they crumbled to dust immediately.

The chancel and transept roofs were indifferently patched up a few years ago, and at the same time the windows were glazed with coloured and other glass in the most painful manner. There are some very curious bosses in the roof over the Drake aisle. One represents a woman's head with a mouse coming out of her ear, which the rector considers the emblem of "cunning leaving the brain." There is another of a lion, with his tail curled up, and another of a dying deer, with his head turned back. Then again in the easternmost rib of the roof is a head of the Saviour, with a crown of thorns.

There is a rood turret on the north side. In the tower—which is a well proportioned granite structure, with pinnacles on an embattled parapet—there are six bells, which at present are not rung, one being crazed and another broken in pieces. These are about to be recast.

In the churchyard are one or two very curious epitaphs. Here is one from the tombstone of a family whose members died at the respective ages of 88, 94, 29, and 16—

"Our life is but a winter's day ;
Some only breakfast, and away ;
Others to dinner stay, and are full fed—
The oldest man but sups, and goes to bed.
Large is his debt who lingers out the day ;
Who goes the soonest has the least to pay."

Mention should be made of the great oak close to the churchyard, about 27 feet in circumference, but very bare at the top, and the trunk so decayed that it forms an archway, through which a person may easily pass. Tradition says it is much older than the church. I question it. Near this tree is the base of an ancient granite cross.

We now take a long stride in quite another direction of the Dartmoor borders, to Ugborough. The church here—to whom dedicated has not been found—is a remarkably fine building, with a nave, built in 1323, 100 feet long by $26\frac{1}{2}$ wide; north and south aisles, erected at the same time, 125 feet in length, and between 10 and 11 feet in breadth. There are eight piers and arches and two responds on each side of the nave of bold but effective masonry, and should the present unsightly plaster ceiling to the nave ever be removed, and the roof timbers exposed to view, the church will present a very impressive appearance, as in size it is not equalled by any church in the archdeaconry of Totnes, St. Andrew's, Plymouth, alone excepted. There are Perpendicular north and south transepts, about 12 feet by 15 feet, with chancel nearly 40 feet in depth, having at the entrance remains of a screen, with painted figures of saints in the panels. In the north aisle are some finely-executed carvings in the ribs of the roof. There are about seventy bosses, all dissimilar in design. One boss represents a sow suckling her litter; another a Turk's head; and another a smith hammering out a horse's shoe.

On the east wall of the north transept is a brass, two feet in length, with the effigy of a female engraved upon it. It was discovered near its present position when this portion of the church was restored in 1862.

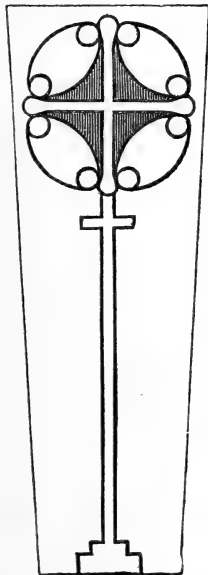
Here, as at Brent, there are remains of stone benches against the walls and around the pillars. These were, originally, the only fixed seats in many of the Moorland churches.

The pulpit in this church is of stone, Perpendicular in style, of the same form as, though much plainer than, the fine pulpits at Dartmouth and Harberton. The one at Harberton is a very characteristic and elaborate piece of Devonshire work.

The Ugborough tower, which is later than the church, and was built early in the sixteenth century, is one of the loftiest in Devon, being nearly 100 feet in height. It is not quite square, being 23 feet 6 inches by 24 feet 6 inches. There are buttresses of two

stages, set on square. The parapet is embattled, and at each corner is a lofty pinnacle, peculiarly based on corbels, consisting of large grotesque heads. One of these grotesques, the whole of the west side of the parapet, and the north-west pinnacle, fell when the tower was struck by lightning a few months ago. Notwithstanding that a large portion of the west wall of the belfry was also destroyed, and that great masses of granite masonry fell through the belfry floor, and that the bell wheels were smashed, not one of the eight very fine bells was injured. Though so strongly opposed to altering or amending old churches, there is just one little omission which Master De Wykeham and other architects made in the fifteenth century, and which I shall be careful to supply in the restoration of this tower—that is, a *lightning conductor*.

Note in Ugborough Church an incised slab in the floor, before the screen, and just under the rood; and note also a mural monument on the north side of the chancel. The slab is of the thirteenth century; has no name on it; only the symbol of the faith in which the person (probably here buried) died, beautifully cut on the surface. The other monument is of the early part of the eighteenth century, and shows what progress had been made, not only in architectural taste, but in Christian feeling, in five centuries! This is the renaissance *language* which is here engrafted on the renaissance tomb:



“The sacred remains of Mr. Richard Fownes, of Whitehouse, rest here, who resigned all that was mortal on the 8th day of May, 1680, in an assured expectation of being re-united to his immortal part which is gone to the spirits of the just made perfect; as also of Mrs. Petronel, his wife, who after a just tribute of tears paid to the memory of 6 children (a religious and virtuous offspring which went early to Heaven), was carry’d through a valley of Grief and Sorrow to Abraham’s bosom, July the 20th, 1712. In memory of whose virtues this monument of affection and gratitude is erected.”

In connection with Ugborough Church, Prince, in his “Worthies of Devon,” gives some account of John Prideaux, rector of Exeter College, Oxford, and Bishop of Worcester from 1641 to 1650. He was the fourth son of a large family living at Stowford, in the

parish of Harford, and "being driven to shift for himself betimes, and having a pretty good tuneable voice," he tried to become parish clerk at Ugborough. It was arranged that he and a competitor should "tune the psalm" on the next Sunday, "one in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon." Prideaux failed, and used afterwards to say: "If I could have been parish clerk of Ugborough, I had never been Bishop of Worcester." He afterwards walked to Oxford "in habit very mean and sordid—no better than leathern breeches;" became a Bible clerk at Exeter College; and rose at last to be rector of his college and Regius Professor of Divinity. He had attained these dignities, when coming into Devonshire to "pay his duty to his parents," and passing through the parish of Ugborough, "he heard the bell toll for the funeral of a poor old woman who had been his godmother; on which the doctor diverted out of his way, went to her burial, and gave her a sermon."

Scarcely less important than the church at Ugborough is the parish church of St. Patrick at South Brent. Though of rather smaller dimensions, the plans of the two churches generally agree. The building at Brent is chiefly Decorated and Perpendicular, with Norman and Early English remains at the west end.

The restoration of this church, under my direction, a year or two ago, brought to light several architectural features which had been concealed under the accumulated coats of plaster and whitewash for probably two centuries. The roofs were rotten, the windows all mutilated, and the sedilia and piscina in the chancel had been partially destroyed and blocked up with fragments of sculpture, masonry, and mediæval tiles. The piscina in the north chapel (where there was formerly an altar to our Lady), and the stoup within the south porch, were also found filled up with fragments of demolished stone carvings. Built into these recesses and niches were discovered some beautiful and highly finished parts of a life-size recumbent effigy and high tomb, with the original colours (vermilion, emerald, and gold) on them. These fragments (which have been carefully preserved), I have conjectured, belong to the tomb of a murdered vicar of the fifteenth century. There is a record that in the year 1436 Bishop Lacy reconciled this church, after profanation by the murder of its vicar, and dedicated three altars there—that of the patron; in the north aisle, that of our Lady; and in the south, that of St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

But it is to the earlier work in the tower and the small building, now used as a vestry at the south-west end of the church, to which I would especially call attention. The tower, from its general outline, and the portions of masonry which jutted out from the plaster covering, had always been considered of a much earlier date than any other portion of the church; but the removal of the west gallery, the consequent opening up of the east arch of the tower, and the removal of the wall plaster both inside and outside, enables us now with something like certainty to determine the position of the tower relatively to its contemporary church, and the period of its erection. The tower is in four stages, and of *late* Norman construction, with the exception of the top portion and an inserted window on the lower stage above the west door, which are Early English. By



a reference to the drawing, it will be seen that on each side of the bottom stage of the tower is an arch, the northern and southern arches low and semi-circular, the eastern arch (opening into the present nave), and the corresponding western one, more lofty and pointed (showing that the builders were getting into a transitional style), but otherwise distinctly of Norman character in the masonry, jointing, and impost mouldings. The west doorway above the three-light Early English window already alluded to is Perpen-

dicular. Adjoining the tower on the south side is an ancient building, which for centuries has been used as a vestry, but the original purpose of which had been a matter of considerable doubt. It would appear, however, that the tower must have been the central feature of a cruciform Norman church, and this building (now the vestry) on the south side have formed one of the transepts. It would further seem probable that the Norman church possessed a south aisle, and a little chapel on that side also, as both in the west and east walls of this building there are remains of semi-circular arches. At the south end also is a plain Norman doorway (with a niche inside, probably a stoup), and adjoining may be traced the outline of a round-headed window. The Norman work here is exceedingly simple, only the small windows in the third stage of the tower possessing any peculiarity. The plain wall masonry is formed of pebbles and slate, and the dressings, arches, string courses, and other wrought portions are of a green stone, worked to very fine joints.

I am not familiar with any example of Norman masonry in this part of the country in which tooled granite is seen. The Normans were not only most skilful masons, but they appear to have appreciated colour to a greater extent than their successors. At Brent, at Plympton Priory, at St. Germans, at Lidford (on the font), they used red sandstone or green slatestone, whether obtainable close at hand, or from a distance. "That is best which liest nearest" was not therefore their invariable rule.



The beautiful font in Brent Church, of which a drawing is here given, is made of a very fine and compact red sandstone. The carving is of the late conventional Norman type, out of which grew the freer and more natural Early English foliage.

These are my imperfect and fragmentary notes on some of the old Moorland churches of South Devon. We have seen how mutilated, how roughly handled, such buildings have been in the political and religious storms which have swept over the land. Without infringing on any rule of this Society, may I be permitted to express a hope that they may be treated with more veneration and respect when the changes which are said (I know not how truly) to be "looming in the future" actually occur, and that they may never be alienated from pious uses. To plead for them on no higher ground, they are the landmarks, to a great extent, of our country's history, the monuments of the architectural skill of our ancestors, the gems of our English landscapes.

The castles and ancient defences of Britain, with a few stately exceptions, are fast crumbling to decay. The play-houses, where the old English dramas were acted, and where Shakespeare's immortal scenes were first represented, have long since passed away. The abbeys and monasteries of the land, the houses of philanthropy and learning in the middle ages, are magnificent only in ruins. The halls of those ancient guilds, which laid the foundation of England's material prosperity, are scarcely anywhere to be seen. But in every parish of the land, in the crowded street of the town, in the quiet woodland vale, on the bold and rocky coast, on the bleak and desolate moor, there stands the *church*, with its massive tower or its heaven-pointing spire—the symbol in our midst for centuries past (let us hope it may be for centuries to come) of our faith in God; of our hope in immortality; for as the poet Wordsworth says—

"They dreamt not of a perishable house
Who thus could build."

TAXATION.

ABSTRACT OF MR. R. COLLIER'S PAPER.

(Read March 27th, 1873.)

THE Lecturer said he should take it for granted that the money now raised by taxes was only sufficient for necessities, and that the best mode of raising the money was by direct taxation. He should not say anything about local taxation, of which an honourable baronet in this neighbourhood had assumed the copyright. In raising money by direct taxation, they should take as much as possible from the rich, and as little as possible from the poor; but no class should be entirely exempt from paying taxes, in order that every person might have an interest in keeping down the public expenditure. But already every poor man paid quite enough indirectly in taxation on food, which gave him a very lively interest in the taxation of the country. He deprecated hard and fast limits to private incomes, but he thought some rich men might pay more in taxation than they do at present. And if more money were taken from the rich and given to the poor man, there would not only be an individual benefit, but the poorer classes in general would be benefited. The rich spent a great deal of their money in luxuries, whilst the poor had to expend theirs in necessities; but if the graduated scale of taxation were introduced, a certain class of persons who sold necessities would increase, whilst other persons would, of course, suffer in a similar ratio. He scorned the idea of philosophers, that riches and happiness were divorced. There was now no real pleasurable luxury in having a large retinue of servants, and a large number of acres; but he took pleasure in them, because their numbers exceeded those of their neighbours. If the gradual scale of taxation were introduced, the richest man in the country would still be richer than his neighbours, though not to so great an extent as he had previously been. The introduction of a graduated scale would not cause as much misery as the introduction of a great labour machine. The

poorer classes, by the graduated scale, would be benefited, and the rich would not be pressed too hardly. Mr. Collier at some length combated the arguments against the graduated scale of taxation, and pointed out that at present there was a graduated scale; for a man who got less than £100 a year paid nothing, while he who got less than £200 had to pay on a different scale from he who had a larger income. Every description of property should be rated fairly, so that a man who had invested his money in land should not be worse off than his neighbour who had taken the precaution to invest his capital in the stocks; but the lecturer did not see that it was practicable to make any distinction between the man who had had property left him and he who had earned his riches by his own industry. He therefore considered that there could be no distinction in this respect. He considered an expenditure-tax was far better than an income-tax, which latter he characterized as encouraging the idle, and contrarily affecting the thrifty. Take, for instance, a man with £100,000, who put the money in business, and realized £12,000 a year. Out of that sum he spent £2,000, putting the rest of the sum to his business. He would, therefore, have to pay 10 per cent. of his private expenditure on the income-tax, whilst he who spent the money in one year had a much smaller percentage to pay. There were certain affairs, such as legacies, probate duty, &c., which might be put on a different scale in taxation. The scheme of graduated expenditure would have as its effect the handicapping of the highest talent in the race for wealth. They could not draw the line between the industrious and the idle rich, for such a distinction could easily be evaded. He contended that the tax should be levied on expenditure, and not on income. He (the lecturer) advocated the interests of those who had a small income, who had to pay on the same scale as those of the rich, who spent their money to waste in the country without benefiting it. The idea he expressed was an old one, but it was first brought forward at a time when it was associated with mob law; but he believed the time had come when respectable citizens might see that there were two sides to the question, which had never been made a formidable one. He believed it would be again brought forward to public notice, but it must be decided on its merits.

SUPPLEMENT TO
THE THREE TOWNS BIBLIOTHECA.

SINCE the printing of the Three Towns Bibliotheca, several other books and pamphlets have appeared in the Three Towns; and some which had escaped research have been brought under my notice. These are included in the present supplementary list. I also take advantage of the opportunity to correct some errors in the Bibliotheca, and to give such few additional particulars with regard to persons as the lapse of time has rendered necessary. These corrections and additions are embodied in the next paragraph. The titles to which a dagger is prefixed were given in the former list, but in a less complete form. In the present list particulars concerning authors mentioned for the first time will be found under the titles of their works.

Page 214. Eight views and plans of Plymouth. 1677-8 should be 1698. Page 220. "Plymouth Times" discontinued 1858. Page 219. Six numbers of Clack were issued. Page 243. Catalogue of the Fauna of Devon, with Rules and Observations (E. Parfitt); for *rules* read *notes*. Index of Authors—For Bottway read Bothway: Evers, Henry, add LL.D.: Fowler, Boyes, d. 1872: Gardner, Rev. Richard, left the Church of England on account of the Bennett judgment: Gibson, Rev. C. M., d. 1872: Hine, John, should be Hine, James: Huxham, J. Cornelius, should be Huxham, J. Coram: Innes, Henry, d. 1872: Löhr, Frederick, *dele.* b. Helston: Midhope, Stephen, d. 1652, was rector of St. Martin's-by-Looe, resigned, and became minister of Baptist Church there: Rodd, R., d. Brighton, 1872, aged 77: Rowe, John Brooking, should be Joshua Brooking: Winterbotham — the reference should be to p. 212.

ART.

"Baby dear, thou'rt sleeping." T. J. Prout, Plymouth.

Barracks at Stonehouse. Roffe.

Combined Fleets in Plymouth Sound. Currie, Stonehouse. 1871.

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- "Good Bye." Song. Words and music by Kate B. Hearder [daughter of Dr. Jonathan Hearder]. Plymouth. 1873.
- Grand Naval Sham Fight in Barnpool. J. E. Wood. Currie, Stonehouse. 1873.
- "I am Love's Messenger." Song. T. J. Prout. Plymouth. 1873.
- Launching of the *Hibernia*, 120; *Circé*, 32; *Pallas*, 32; undocking of *St. George*, 98; 17th November, 1804, at Plymouth Dock. R. Parkes. 1804.
- Loss of the *Dutton East Indiaman*. John Jeffries [dedicated to Captain Pellew].
- Plymouth Sound from the Ropehouse, Plymouth Dock. Charles Tomkins. 1790.
- Prospect (A) of Plymouth and y^e Sound. Timothy Iordan [dedicated to Queen Anne].
- Royal Dockyard, at Plymouth, at the time of the Visit of George III. R. Dodd.
- Set (A) of 12 Second Grade Perspective Drawing Papers. H. Evers.
- Some Account of the Ancient Rood Screen in Harberton Church, Totnes, Devon. F. L. [Francis Lane.] Latimer, Plymouth. 1872. [Francis Lane, artist; b. Plymouth.]
- View of the new Royal Hospital Buildings, near Plymouth. Thomas Clarkson. 1780.
- Views by Payne—Mount Batten from Oreston; Plymouth from Stonehouse Hill.
- Views by Wallis—Devonport from Mount Edgecumbe; Devonport and Dockyard; New Victualling Office; Citadel Entrance; Sound.

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written for the instruction and amusement of my children.
MS. John Harris. 1805.

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History (A) of Plymouth. Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A. W. H. Luke, Plymouth. 1873.

Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. John Williams. E. Prout. *Circa* 1840. [The Rev. Ebenezer Prout, F.G.S., was born at Plymouth, 1802; d. 1871. An Independent. Wrote other smaller works, chiefly upon missionary subjects.]

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Land (On the) and Marine Engine. H. Evers.

Locomotive Engine (On the). H. Evers.

Naval Architecture. S. J. P. Thearle.

Navigation, with Great Circle Sailing. Henry Evers. 1866.

New Mode (On a) of Constructing Ships, with a Self-regulating Power as to their specific gravity, so as to enable them to secure the advantages enjoyed by fish. T. Littleton, M.B. [Plymouth.] Read Plymouth Meeting Social Science Congress. 1872.

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Three Towns Directory. Ebenezer Thorne. Plymouth, 1873.

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Gospel Songs. [Miss Kingdon.] Plymouth. 1842.

Minstrel's Tale (The), and other Poems. George Moore. Devonport. 1826. [George Moore was a Schoolmaster in Plymouth.]

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Poems and Songs. George Wilde. Plymouth. 1816.

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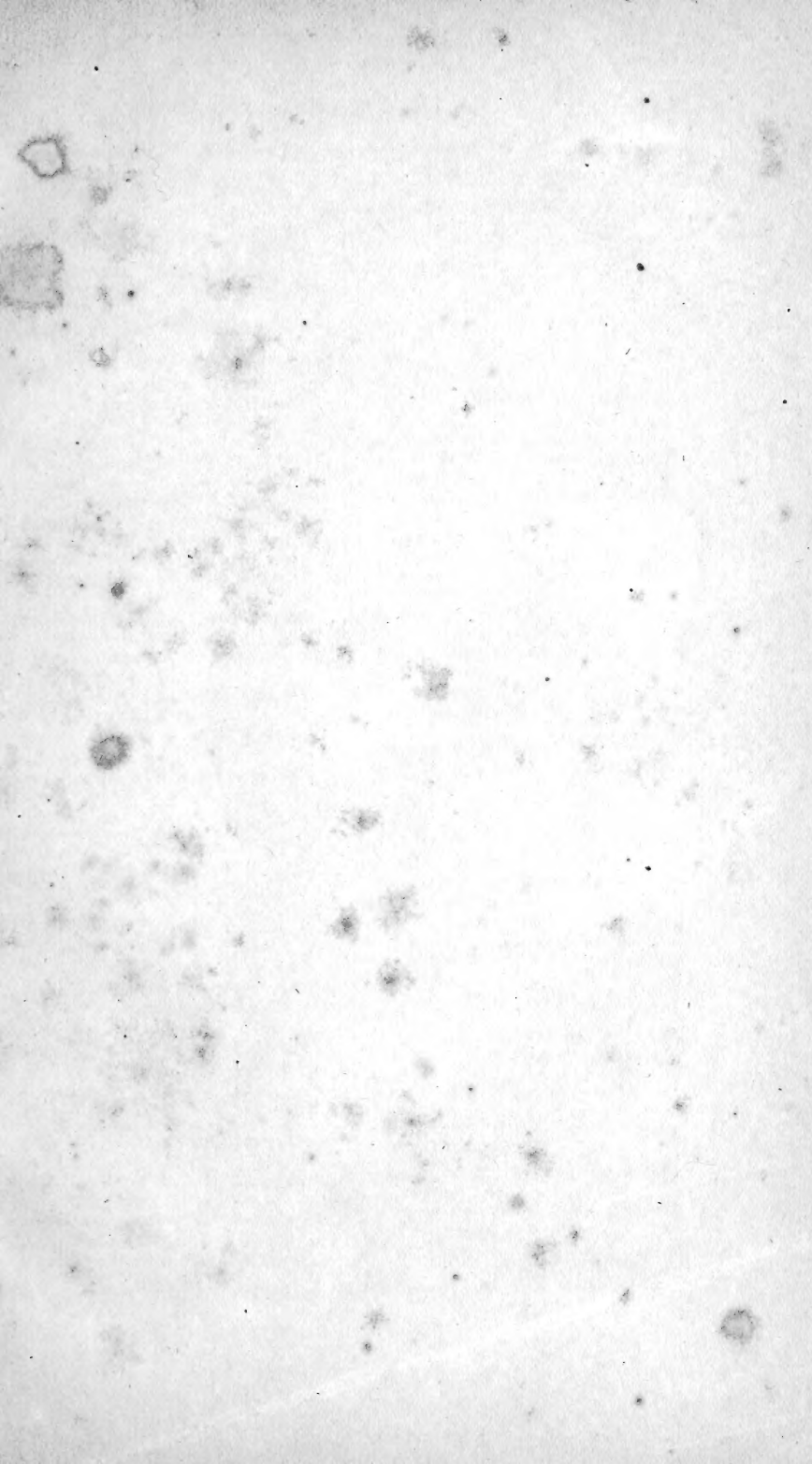
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